

STUDIES IN TIBETO-HIMALAYAN LANGUAGES—I

A Descriptive Grammar of  
Kinnauri

D. D. SHARMA



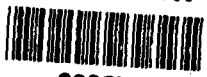
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## A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF KINNAURI

## PREFACE

The present treatise is the first volume in the series of "Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages". The aim of this volume is to present, for the first time, a detailed grammatical analysis of a language which, being a curious amalgam of the linguistic elements of three major language families (viz. Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman and Austro-Asiatic) of this sub-continent, occupies an important place among the languages of Western Himalayas.

The basic material for this analysis was recorded intermittently at Chandigarh, Simla, Sangla, Nichar, Kalpa, Pooh and Namgya, for a period of five years from the native speakers of different dialects of Kinnauri, under a systematic linguistic research scheme. However, the present study is confined to the standard dialect of Lower Kinnaur alone. The rest of the material is scheduled to follow in another comprehensive volume on Topological and comparative Grammar of Western Pronominalized Languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group.

Although collection of data from snowy and rugged Himalayan region is a difficult job, yet my effort has been to have the maximum authentic data elicited from the native speakers of the given dialect/variety of it. In the matter of analysis too there were many vexed and complex grammatical problems which I have tried to analyse to the best of my knowledge and ability in this discipline. I am fully aware of the

limitations of this study. Being an analysis of an uncultivated and non-standardised language, it can neither be an exhaustive nor a final. There will be always a scope for improvement in the light of new facts available in future. At this stage I can only say that it gives a broad view of the grammatical structure of standard Kinnauri. I shall, however, feel amply rewarded if this study initiates further serious linguistic investigations into various aspects of it. The languages of this region have a very bright scope for their socio-linguistic or Anthro-linguistic studies. But to me the most urgent and importance aspect of the study of Kinnauri seems to be its historical analyses, because it is this which is sure to unveil many historical and cultural facets of the people belonging to an ancient Indian tribe occupying an exalted position in the Indian mythology.

There are many hands and minds which have directly and indirectly contributed to the preparation of this volume. I am sincerely grateful to all of them. Although to make a mention, individually, of all the scholars whose works have helped me in this analysis is not possible here, yet I really stand indebted to all of them, the names of whom have been enlisted in the bibliography at the end of this volume. Still there are some persons, whose mention is a must for me.

First of all I would like to express my sincere thanks to my informants without whose active and willing co-operation collection of data would not have been possible. I would be grossly failing in my duty if I do not express my gratefulness to Shri Budh Prakash Negi, a resident of Kothi (Kalpa) and a speaker of standard Kinnauri, who during his stay at Chandigarh as a student of department of Laws in the University of Punjab not only extended his extensive co-operation, but also helped in contacting native speakers of various other valleys of Kinnaur. The names of other informants who were kind enough to supply me the necessary data of the variety of their mother tongue are :

1. Miss Chandra Negi, Village Kilba (Sangla)
2. Miss Soma Negi, Village, Pangi (Kalpa)
3. Shri Balwant Singh Negi, Village Chini (Kalpa)
4. Shri Sanam Dubke, Nichar Proper
5. Shri Bhagat Singh, Nichar.

6. Shri Yashpal Singh Negi, Labrang.
7. Shri Ravindra Singh, Kamru (Sangla)
8. Shri Purkhalal Negi, Thange, (Pooh)
9. Miss Sarla Negi, Moorang (Pooh).
10. Shri Devi Singh Grande Nichar.
11. Shri Kehar Singh Negi, Chhitkul (Sangla)
12. Shri Tikam Singh Negi, Chhitkul (Sangla).

I am also equally grateful to my friend Dr. B.R. Sharma, Secretary, Academi of Language and Culture, Himachal Pradesh, Simla, who not only arranged for my trip to different valleys of Kinnaur in 1980, but also accompanied me in this tour and helped in contacting local people there. This visit was particularly important to create a sense of authenticity about the data on Kinnauri that I had collected earlier at Chandigarh and Simla.

Last but not the least, I have to express my sincere thanks to the authorities of Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund for providing me an opportunity and necessary funds to work extensively on the languages of the whole Himalayan region by way of awarding me the prestigious academic fellowship, viz., Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship, in 1984.

I am also thankful to M/s. Mittal Publications, Delhi for undertaking the publication of this piece of research work. It is now for the scholars to judge its merit.

—D. D. SHARMA

Panjab University,  
CHANDIGARH  
Nov., 1987.

## A NOTE ON PHONETIC SYMBOLS

[ ]	Phonetic transcription	
/ /	Phonemic transcription	
:	(after a vowel) shows longer quantity of it,	
~	(above a vowel) shows nasalization of it, and after a gloss, free variants	
>	developed into	
<	derived from	
/ə/	short central vowel equivalent to Hindi vowel / अ /	
/a/	long low back vowel equivalent to Hindi vowel / आ /	
/i/	short front vowel	= / इ /
/i:/	long front vowel	= / ई /
/u/	short back vowel	= / उ /
/u:/	long back vowel	= / ऊ /
/e/	mid frong vowel	= / ए /
/E/	lower mid front vowel	= / ऐ /
/o/	lower back vowel	= / ओ /
/ɔ/	low back vowel	= / औ /

### Consonants

/ŋ/	velar nasal	= / ङ /
/ts~č/	affricate palatal	= / च /
/tsh~čh/	„ „	= / छ /
/z/	voiced dental sibilant	= / ज /
/ʈ/	retroflex voiceless	= / ट /
/ʈh/	„ vl. asp.	= / ठ /
/ɖ/	„ voiced	= / ड /
/ɽ/	flapped vd.	= / ढ /
/ɳ/	retroflex nasal	= / ण /
/ɲ/	palatal nasal	= / ण /
/ʃ/	voiceless platal sibilant	= / श /
/ʒ/	voiced „ „	= / ष /

(Rest as in Roman Script)

# CONTENTS

<b>PREFACE</b>		<b>v</b>
<b>A NOTE ON PHONETIC SYMBOLS</b>		<b>viii</b>
<b>I. INTRODUCTION</b>		<b>1</b>
1.1 Territorial Boundaries		2
1.2 Physical Features		2
1.3 The Speakers		3
1.4 Social and Racial Background		3
1.5 Linguistic Situation		4
1.6 Principal Dialects of Kinnauri		5
6.1 Kinnaurayanuskad		5
6.2 Thebarskad		6
6.3 Nyamskad		6
6.4 Chitkuli		6
6.5 Indo-Aryan		6
1.7.0 Dialectal Variations		7
7.1 Pronouns		7
7.2 Indeclinables		8
7.3 Case Markers		9
7.4 Verbal Conjugation		10
1.8.0 Linguistic Sub-Strata of Kinnauri		11
1.9.0 Linguistic Peculiarities		13
1.10.0 Richness of Kinnauri		15

## II PHONOLOGY

2.1	Vowels	19
1.2	Distribution	21
1.3	Phonetic Features and Allophonic Variants	22
1.4	Vowel sequences	23
1.5	Semi-Vowels and Glides	24
2.0	Consonants	25
2.1	Phonemic Contrasts	25
2.2	Distribution	21
2.3	Phonetic Features and Allophones	30
3.0	Consonant Clusters	34
3.1	Initial Clusters	34
3.2	Final Clusters	36
3.3	Three Member Clusters	36
3.4	Medial Clusters	37
3.5	Overall Structure of Clusters/Sequences	39
3.6	Gemination	40
4.0	Syllable	40
4.1	Nature and Structure	40
4.2	Positional Distribution	41
4.3	Patterns of Syllabic Units	41
4.4	Syllabic Division	42
5.0	Supra Segmental Features	42
5.1	Length	42
5.2	Nasality	43
5.3	Glottalization	43
5.4	Juncture	43
5.5	Stress and Pitch	45
5.6	Intonation	46

## III MORPHOLOGY AND MORPHOPHONEMICS

3.1	Introduction	47
3.2	Word Classes and Grammatical Categories	48
2.1	Word Defined	48
2.2	Word Classes	49
3.0	Grammatical Categories	50
4.0	Concord	50
5.0	Morphophonemics	51

5.1	Morphophonemic Adjustments	51
5.2	Kinds of Morphophonemic Adjustments	51
5.3	Phonologically conditioned Alternants	51
5.4	Morphologically conditioned Alternants	53
5.5	Morphosemantically conditioned Alternants	55
<b>IV</b>	<b>NOUN</b>	
4.1	Noun Defined	56
1.1	Noun Classes	56
1.2	Noun Stem and its Kinds	57
1.3	Stem Formation	57
1.3.1	Primary Complex Stems	57
1.3.2	Derived Noun Stems	59
1.3.3	Compound Stems	60
1.3.4	Compound Stems Conveying a copulative sense	62
1.3.5	Reduplicated Compound Stems	62
1.4	Nominal Inflection	63
<b>V</b>	<b>NUMBER</b>	64
5.1	Number Category	64
5.2	Number Markers	65
5.3	Suffixal Plurality	65
5.4	Nouns of Incomplete Flection	67
5.5	Suppletivism	67
5.6	Pronominal dual	67
5.7	Indefinite Marker	68
<b>VI</b>	<b>GENDER</b>	69-72
6.1	Distinctive Terms	69
6.2	Prefixal System	70
6.3	Suffixal System	71
6.4	Gender of Inanimate nouns	72
<b>VII</b>	<b>CASE</b>	
7.1	Case Categories	73
7.2	Case Markers and their distribution	74
2.1	Singular	74



2.2	Dual	75
2.3	Plural	76
7.3	Syntactic Correlation	77
3.1	Direct Case	77
3.2	Accusative-dative case	78
3.3	Ergative Case	81
3.4	Casal relationship of Subject and Object	82
3.5	Instrumental Case	83
3.6	Associative Case	83
3.7	Ablative Case	84
3.8	Genitive Case	85
3.9	Locative Case	88
3.10	Vocative Case	89
7.4	Post-positions	89
4.1	Government by Post-position	90
7.5	Paradigmatic Classes of Nouns	93
7.6	Models of Nominal Inflections	93
VIII	PRONOUNS	
8.1	Pronoun Defined	96
8.2	Classification	96
8.3	Complexity of Pronominal Stem	97
8.4	Inflection	98
8.5	Demonstrative Pronouns	99
8.6	Interrogative Pronouns	102
8.7	Specifier	102
8.8	Relative Pronoun	103
8.9	Reflexive Pronoun	103
IX	ADJECTIVES	105
9.1	Distinctive Status	105
9.2	Simple Adjectives	105
9.3	Derived Adjectives	106
9.4	Kinds of Adjectives	109
4.1	Qualitative Adjectives	109
4.2	Pronominal Adjectives	109
4.3	Possessive Adjectives	110
4.4	Interrogative Adjectives	110
4.5	Adjectives of Quantity	110

<i>Contents</i>	<i>xiii</i>
9.5 Adjective Phrase	111
9.6 Sementically conditioned Adjectives	111
9.7 Degrees of Comparison	112
9.8 Intensifiers	113
9.9 Syntactic order	114
<b>X NUMERALS</b>	
10.1 Cardinal Numerals	116
10.2 Ordinals	122
10.3 Aggregatives	123
10.4 Indefinite	123
10.5 Distributive	123
10.6 Multiplicative	123
10.7 Approximative	124
10.8 Fractional	124
10.9 Measurement	125
10.10 Counting of Age	125
<b>XI VERBAL SYSTEM</b>	
11.1 Verb Root	126
1.1 Classification of Verb Roots	127
1.2 Transitive and Intransitive stems	127
1.3 Transitivity	128
11.2 Composition of Verb stems	128
2.1 Denominative stems	129
2.2 Compound Verbal stems	129
11.3 Classification of Verb forms	129
11.4 Sub-system	130
11.5 Affirmative system	131
5.1 Tense and Aspects	131
5.2 Mechanism of Tense formation	131
5.3 Number suffixes	133
5.4 Object suffixes	134
11.6 Verb Substantive	134
11.7 Uses and formations of tense and aspects	136
7.1 Present tense	136
7.2 Past Tense	140
7.3 Future Tense	144

7.4	Habitual Aspect	147
7.5	Inceptive aspect	147
7.6	Simultaneity of an action	148
11.8	Passive sub-system	149
11.9	Causative sub-system	150
11.10	Honorific sub-system	151
11.11	Negative sub-system	152
11.12	Interrogative Constructions	154
11.13	Moods and Modal Verbs	155
13.1	Imperative Mood	156
13.2	Optative	159
13.3	Permissive	159
13.4	Subjunctive	160
13.5	Conditional	160
13.6	Compulsive	161
13.7	Obligation	161
13.8	Ability	161
13.9	Expectancy	162
13.10	Possibility	162
13.11	Advisability	163
13.12	Desirability	163
13.13	Benediction	164
11.14	Non-finite Verbal forms	164
14.1	Infinitive	164
14.2	Verbal Noun	165
14.3	Participles	166
14.3.1	Present Participle	166
14.3.2	Conjunct Participle	167
14.3.3	Perfect Participle	169
14.3.4	Conjunct Constructions	170
11.15	Verbal Derivatives	171
15.1	Nominal/Adjectival Derivatives	171
15.2	Adverbial Derivatives	172
<b>XII</b>	<b>ADJUNCTS</b>	<b>174</b>
12.1	Adverbs	174
1.1	Classification	174
1.2	Formation of Adverbs	174
1.2.1	Simple/non-derived	175

## *Contents*

xv

1.2.2	Derived	175
1.3	Reduplication	178
1.4	Overlapping with Adjectives	178
1.5	Adverbial Phrases	179
1.6	Placement	180
XIII	PARTICLES	181
13.1	Connective Particles	181
13.2	Emphatic Particles	183
13.3	Interrogative Particles	184
13.4	Negative Particles	184
13.5	Interjections	186
XIV	SYNTAX	187
14.1	Sentence	187
14.2	Noun Phrase	187
14.3	Types and Order of Qualifiers	188
14.4	Adjectival/Adverbial Phrase	188
14.5	Agreement of Modifiers and Head	189
14.6	Verb Phrase	189
(1)	Simple Verb Phrase	189
(2)	Composite Verb Phrase	189
14.7	Extension of Verb Phrase	190
14.8	Syntactietic order of NP and VP	190
14.9	Concord	190
14.10	Sentence type	191
10.1	Simple Sentence	191
10.2	Types of Simple Sentences	192
10.3	Copula Sentences	192
10.4	Intransitive Sentences	192
10.5	Transitive Sentences	193
10.6	Causative Sentences	193
10.7	Passive Sentences	194
10.8	Interrogative Sentences	194
10.9	Imperative Sentences	194
10.10	Negative Sentences	195
10.11	Emphatic Negative	196

10.12	Transformation into Interrogative and Negative Sentences	196
14.11	Complex Sentences	196
11.1	Conditional	196
11.2	Complemental	197
11.3	Relative	197
11.4	Incomplete Verb Phrase	197
14.12	Compound Sentences	197
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY		199
INDEX		201

# I

## INTRODUCTION

Before presenting the grammatical structure of the language in question it may not be inappropriate to provide some information to the readers of the country and the people about which very little is known to the outside world. The land of this tongue known as Kinnaur is the north-eastern frontier district of the State of Himachal Pradesh, and a border district of India. It lies in the Western Himalayas on both the banks of the river Satluj, between  $31^{\circ} 05' 50''$  and  $32^{\circ} 05' 15''$  north latitude and between  $77^{\circ} 45'$  and  $79^{\circ} 00' 35''$  east longitude. The whole region forming the greater part of the Upper Satluj Valley is about 90 km. long. It is about 60 km. broad at its northern part and 30 km. at the southern point.

Prior to its emergence as an independent district unit, it used to be a part of the district Mahasu, and previously a fraction of the erstwhile princely state Rampur-Bushhar. It was on May 1, 1960 that it was carved out as a separate district unit, constituting the entire Chini Tehsil and 14 contiguous villages of the Rampur Tehsil. Significantly, the area so carved out of the district Mahasu forms a compact unit on account of its racial, cultural and linguistic peculiarities as compared with the rest of the state of Himachal Pradesh.

Besides Satluj, the area is drained by two other important tributaries of it, viz. Spiti and Baspa. The former flowing from the north and the latter from the south-east, both forming two important valleys of it.

## TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES

District Kinnaur shares its eastern boundary, separated by the Zaskar mountains, with the Ngari region of Western Tibet. The southern boundary adjoins the Uttarkashi district of the state of Uttar Pradesh. The western boundary adjoins the Rampur Tehsil of the district Mahasu and a part of district Kulu, separated by Srihanddhar. In the north it adjoins the Spiti sub-division of the district Lahaul and Spiti and Pare-Chhu, near the international boundary with Tibet.

## PHYSICAL FEATURES

The whole of Kinnaur is a rugged mountainous region, marked by rocky and precipitous ravines capped with perpetual snow and descending rapidly to the bed of the Satluj, and other rapid and rushing streams and streamlets. The river Satluj enters the district from Tibet in the north-east, near the village Namgya and leaves it at the western end at Chauhra near Wangtu, almost equally dividing the main valley. The whole district is situated at the elevation of between 1,220 and 3,650 metres above the sea level, Kalpa, the district head quarters and the centre of standard Kinnauri is situated in  $31^{\circ} 31'N$  and  $78^{\circ} 19'E$ , about one and a half km. from the right bank of the river Satluj on the southern slope of a lofty mountain, at an elevation of 1,500 feet above the river and 9,085 feet above the sea level.

The whole territory is divided into a number of valleys separated by high mountains and fast flowing rivers or rivulets. Among these the Satluj Valley, spread on both sides of the river, and stretched about 140 km. in length, is the largest one. Hangrang Valley, situated on the upper most part of the district bordering on Tibet and Spiti is the second largest valley. It is spread on both sides of the river Spiti.

The next important valley in Upper Kinnaur is the Ropa Valley, variously called Shyaso or Sungnam as well. It is spread on both sides of the river Ropa.

Baspa or Sangla Valley, covering an area of about 90 km. is the most beautiful and romantic valley of Kinnaur. It is situated on the banks of the river Baspa, dotted with green pastures and meadows on both sides of it. It is the most populated and richly cultivated area of this district. Chitkul, the last village of the Valley is situated at the elevation of 475 metres from the sea level. The other valleys which need to be mentioned here are : Wangpo or Bhabha Valley, Tidong Valley which comprises the valleys called Kuno and Charang.

### THE SPEAKERS OF THE LANGUAGE

On account of its topographic peculiarities, viz. rugged surface, snowy mountains, inaccessible crags, and forests, a greater part of it is uninhabitable. Consequently, according to the census of 1981 the exact number of the speakers of this language is 59,154 in a total area of 6530 sq. kms. inhabiting 77 revenue villages. (Census of India, 1981, Series 7, Hand Book : Directorate of Census Operation, H.P. Simla).

### SOCIAL AND RACIAL BACKGROUND

According to local social classification the whole population is divided into Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. In this S.T. called Kanets or Negis form one group, but the S.C.'s are further divided into three sub-groups, called (1) Domang (Blacksmiths), (2) Ores (Carpenters), (3) Chamang (Cobblers and Weavers). From the Physical features of the Tribal populace, particularly of the Upper Kinnaur, it is evident that there was, in a more or less degree, a racial mixture among the ancient Aryan and Mongoloid races. As such the people along the Tibetan Border possess Mangoloid and Tartar features, but the rest of the people have Aryan features.

The Kinnauras of the Lower Kinnaur relate themselves to the Kinnara tribes of ancient India, who are associated with the celebrated celestial singers of Hindu mythology. By the



way, the mythical characteristics of mirthful life, full of music and dance, melodious voice, are still attested among the Kinnauras of this region. Religiously, though the Kanets of Lower Kinnaur proclaim to be Hindus, yet the social and religious customs that they followed in the past and to some extent even now are quite different from those which were practised by Vedic Aryans of Aryavart. Now, with the spread of education and frequent exposure of the region to the outside world the socio-cultural pattern of these ancient tribals is undergoing an alround changes fastly.

Socially Kanets (or Khosias) form the upper class or the land owning class, and the rest, collectively called as Chamang form the lower class. Among the lower class population too the Ores and Domang, who can establish marital relations between them consider themselves superior to the Chamang class which is considered the lowest in the social hierarchy of Kinnaur.

## LINGUISTIC SITUATION

Kinnaur, though geographically and administratively, is recognized as a single entity, yet linguistically it has two distinct groups. Out of its three sub-divisions, viz. Kalpa, Nichar and Pooh, the first two form one linguistic unit and the third another. These groups can be designated as Lower Kinnauri and Upper Kinnauri respectively, each of these having its own dialectal subdivisions. But one thing that distinguishes this dialect area from other areas, in general, is its well demarcated boundary. Writing about this special feature of this language, Bailey, T.G., states, "Few languages have their limits defined with such mathematical precision as Kinnauri. It begins abruptly at mile 92 on the Hindustan Tibet road just over 20 miles from Rampur and continues up to the Satluj river to past mile 192. It is, therefore, spoken in the Satluj Valley, or its sub-valleys for a distance (measured along the road) of one hundred miles". (1938 : 79).

Geographically, this language stands at the juncture of Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages and historically, it is a curious amalgam of linguistic elements of Indo-Aryan,

Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman. Moreover, consequent to its topographical peculiarities, racial fusion and influences from the heterogeneous languages of the neighbouring areas, its different valleys have developed their own linguistic varieties which in some cases have become mutually unintelligible to one another. However, before Hindi took over as a link language among the speakers of the different dialects of it, this function was discharged by the dialect of Kalpa region which may be designated as standard variety of it and on which the present analysis of Kinnauri is based.

Besides the 'Kinnaurayanuskad' or the language of Kinnaur, which is the language of the upper class people of belonging to Scheduled Tribes of this region, the Scheduled Caste people living in this area speak a variety of Indo-Aryan, but its use is confined to their mutual communications only. For, while communicating with the upper class people these too switch over to the standard language of this region or to the local variety of it.

## PRINCIPAL DIALECTS OF KINNAURI

Kinnauri, as stated above, on account of historical reasons and topographical peculiarities possesses a number of dialectal variations. Although the language of each valley or sub-valley differs in a more or less degree from the language of other valleys or sub-valleys, yet on the basis of their distinct morphological feature these can be grouped into 5 or 6 broad based groups. The principal groups which according to the present survey can be established are as under :

### I. Kinnaurayanuskad or Standard Kinnauri

It is spoken from 3 km. beyond Sarahan to Moorang, *i.e.* in the whole Nichar sub-division except Chilkul and Rakchham, in the greater part of Kalpa sub-division, and in a few villages of Pooh sub-division as well. Although the language forms, spoken in the south side and north side of the river, show certain marked differences both in the phonological and morphological structure, yet basically it forms a single group. According to Negi, T.S. 'Till some 20-30 years ago this

language was very extensively understood and spoken as a *lingua-franca* of Kinnaur, even by grown up residents of those parts where the mother-tongue had different, but the prevalence of the main Kinnauri has been declining with the subsequent generations. Hindi has over these years been gradually replacing the main Kinnauri (1976 : 189).

## II. Thebarskad

The area of this group is from Kanam to Pooh, particularly in villages Lippa, Jangi, Asrang, Labang, Kanam, Sunnam, Namgya and Shaso, all falling under the jurisdiction of the Moorang Tehsil of Pooh sub-division, are its strong hold. Both lexically and structurally it is nearer to Tibetan dialects of the area :

## III. Nyamskad

The main area of this group falls in the Pooh Tehsil of the Pooh sub-division. It is near to Tibetan dialect of Spiti and Pooh. Besides the village Hangrang it is spoken in Kunocharang, Nesang, and a few more villages. It has an affinity with the dialect spoken in Chitkul as well.

## IV. Chilkuli

It is a distinct variety of Lower Kinnauri and is spoken in two border villages. viz. Chitkul and Rakchham, in the Baspa or Sangla Valley of Nichar sub-division. It has an affinity with the speech variety of Kunocharang and Nesang.

## V. Indo-Aryan

All the Scheduled Caste people, collectively called Harijans speak their own variety of Indo-Aryan which is akin to the speech variety of Harijans of Simla Hills. The main concentration of the speakers of this variety is in Lower Kinnaur. The Harijans of Upper Kinnaur particularly of Ropa, Gyabong and Sunnam, either speak Thebarskad or the local variety of the speech of upper class speakers. In Lower Kinnaur, though the standard Kinnauri is understood and fluently spoken by them, yet while communicating with the people of their own community they invariably use their own variety of Indo-Aryan. But

there too the language of Ores differs in many respects from the language of other Harijans living in the same locality. Examples of these differences can be seen in the specimens given by Sharma, B.R. (1976 : 340-42).

The speech of the areas, adjacent to Tibetan territories, viz. Hangrang, Chitkul, Rakchham, Khabo, Namgya etc. have been greatly influenced by the Tibetan dialects spoken on the other side of the border, with which there was a free communication before the accession of Tibet to China. These contacts have greatly contributed to dialectal variations in Kinnauri.

### DIALECTAL VARIATIONS

Dialectal variations in Lower Kinnauri are attestable at all levels of linguistic expressions. Besides the local variations noticeable in different valleys of Kalpa, Nichar and Sangla, the two villages of Sangla Valley, viz. Chitkul and Rakchham have a distinct variety of it, which in many cases is unintelligible to the speakers of other varieties of Kinnauri. Although vocabulary item too, show a wide range of diversities, yet it is most conspicuous in morphological items. This aspect of Kinnauri may be presented as below. Here the numerals in brackets indicate the speech areas concerned, which stand as follows. (1) Chitkul, (2) Kilba, (3) Pangi, (4) Chini, (Kalpa), (5) Nichar, (6) Labrang, (7) Kamru, and (8) Moorang :

#### Pronouns

Variations in pronominal forms are as under :

- (1) 'This'—hui(1), zo(2-3), zu(4, 5, 7) in/hugu(8),/zi(6)
- (2) 'That'—eme/yo/hoyo(1), do(2-4, 7) hɔdɔ(8), nu(5), nokh(6)
- (3) 'he (that)'—hoyo(1), zo(2-4), nu(5, 7), onu/ono(6,8)
- (4) 'what'—khe(1), chə(2, 4), che(6), thə(3, 7-8), thro(5)
- (5) 'whatever'—khe/khelo(1), chədyən(2-3), chədiña(4), chədaña(7) thədaña(8) che(6) throyəñ(5).
- (6) 'who'—hāt (2-5, 7-8), su(1), uñ(6) as in 'who is there ?'

**Indeclinables**

There are a number of 'indeclinables', functioning as adverbs and adjectives which attest a wide range of diversity in the dialects of Kinnauri. Some of these may be illustrated as follows :

- (1) 'Very much' : In a sentence like 'I am very much tired today', the term 'very much' has been obtained as *mənmən*(1), *wal*(2-4, 5,7), *əthəb*(6), *bari*(8)
- (2) 'for how long' : It is obtained as '*hamestəñ*(1) *testaṇ* (2-5), *terəñstəṇ* (7-8), *taspāsyam* (6) in a sentence 'for how long will you continue crying like this ?.
- (3) 'day before yesterday' : *lubrea* (1), *ri* (2-5, 7-8), *tuksirəñ* (6) in a sentence 'he wanted to come here day before yesterday'.
- (4) 'late' ; *saṇ* (1) *khram* (2), *khra* (7), *berəñ* (3-4) *bela* (8) *dyara* (5) *phiso* (6), in a sentence 'I am late on account of continuously working'.
- (5) 'just now' : *həltə* (1), *huna* (2-4, 7-8), *hunoi* (5), *dhestəñ* (6), in a sentence 'I wish to go to the field just now'.
- (6) 'where' ; *həm* (2-5, 7-8) *əm* (6), *go* (1), in a sentence like 'where do you live ?'.
- (7) 'alone' : *khyaccə* (1-6), *ecci* (2-5, 7-8), in a sentence like 'he was coming alone'.
- (8) 'quickly' : *əsa* (1), *hasəl* (2-4, 7-8), *hattu/ahal* (6), *sirik* (5), in a sentence 'quickly having come here, sit'.
- (9) 'here', *hoya* (1), *zəñ* (2-4), *zoa* (5), *zya* (6), *həzəñ* (3, 7-8) in a sentence 'don't forget to come here tomorrow'.
- (10) 'tomorrow' ; *obi* (1), *nasom* (2-4), *nəb* (5, 7), *nason* (8) *nairo* (5) in a sentence like above (9).
- (11) 'today' : *thəñ* (1), *tero* (2-8) in a sentence like 'I am going today'.
- (12) 'yesterday' : *nei* (1), *sirəñ* (6), *mè* (2-5, 7-8).
- (13) This (adj.) : *hui* (1), *zo* (2-3), *zu* (4, 5, 7), *uzu* (8), *zi* (6), in a sentence 'what is there in this pot ?'.
- (14) that (Adj.) ; *hui* (1), *no* (3), *nu* (3, 5, 7), *do* (6), *unu* (8), in a sentence 'how many people live in that village ?'
- (15) 'how many' : *hanəñ* (1), *teta* (2-4, 7-8), *tece* (6), *to* (5), as in above (14).

- (16) 'and' : tən̄ (1) rən̄ (2-4, 7-8), nən̄ (6).  
 (17) 'as compared to you' (particle of comparison) :  
 kinən̄c (2-4, 7), kinpən̄ (6), kinanka (8), kinadači (1) in  
 a sentence like 'we have double the land as compared  
 to yours'.

### Case Markers :

The phenomenon of dialectal diversity is equally attested with respect to various case markers as well as may be evident from the following examples :

1. *Subject of transitive verb in the past tense* : With the ergative case marker ; -s (2-4, 7-8), and without it (1, 5-6) : gəs (2-4, 7-8), ga/gə (1, 5-6) in a sentence 'to whom did I say ?', but in a sentence like 'Sita asked Ram', it is obtained as 'sita-s (2-8) and 'sitaci' (1) ; but in 'he said' the marker is attested as : dəs (2-5), dəč (7), hədə (8), dokh (6), yoči (1).

2. *Accusative markers* : 'to uncle' ; kakada (1), papupən̄ (2-5, 7-8), apara (6), in a sentence like 'I have to write a letter to my uncle' ; 'to a child' ; əccən̄ (1), chaṇu (2-5, 7-8), chaṇta (6), in a sentence like 'he beats the child' ; 'to whom ?' hatu (2-5, 7-8), su (1), unna (6). It is evident from the above examples that no object marker is used in Chitkuli. In the dialect of Labrang different markers are used in difference contexts and in others it is/-u/.

3. *Acc. dative markers* ; The accusative-dative markers are obtained as follows ; uṇ/taṇes (2-4, 7-8), tiṇ/stiṇ (1), la/ra (6), zero (5), in a sentence like 'what have you brought for me from Delhi ? or 'I have brought clothes for you from there' etc.

4. *Associative markers* : It is obtained as-tiṇ (1), rən̄ (2-7), dən̄ (8), in sentences like 'who was the other person with you ? or 'he has to go with his father', etc.

5. *Ablative markers* ; They are-či (1),-č (2-3, 5, 7-8),-ni (4), -tə (6) : in a phrase 'from there' : hədači/həgači (1), dən̄c (2,8), diṇc (3), hədən̄i (4), dokč (5, 7), datə (6), in a sentence- 'I have brought clothes for you from there'.

6. *Possessive markers* ; Possessive markers are : -da (kin-da 1, 5, 7-8), -dua (kindua, 3), -dən̄ (kindən̄, 4), ra (girora 6),

in a sentence like 'how much money have you in your possession ?'

7. *Locative markers* : 'in' as in 'in the fire' : du : me-du (1), -o : meo (2-5, 7-8)-nau : meu nau (6), or 'in the pot' :-du : bañiñ-du (1), -u : bañiñu (2), -o : bañiño (3-5, 7-8), -nau : bañiñu nau (6) :

(on' :-niñ (1), -den (2-5, 7-8), -o (5, 7, 8), thoriñ/nau (6), in sentences like 'a bird is seated on the tree'.

### Verbal Conjugations

The most potential area of dialectal diversities is attested in verbal forms of all tenses and aspects. Some of the prominent ones are :

1. *Infinitive/verbal noun markers* : 'to go' :-ðñ : as in roñ (1), be-mu (8, 7-8), be-mo (3-4), ze-ma (6), be-añ (5) ; 'to do' : lac-ðñ (1), lan-mu~lannu (2-4, 7-8), zero : lan (12), la-ma (6), in sentences like 'I want to go, 'he is going to do' etc.

2. *Present Indefinite* : 'he does' : ləca-to (1), lanc-du (2, 7) lano-du (2, 8) lanə-du (5), lan-č (4) lau-təš (6) ; Also 'I drink' : toñ-a (1), toñc-duk (2, 7), toñ-o (2), tuñ-c (10), tuñ-tuk (5), tuñ-i (6), tuñ-stok (7-8).

3. *Present Perfect* : 'has become' : əsi-to (1), həc (2), həcš (3-4, 7-8), həcik (5), wəñkyare (6), in a sentence 'your work is done, =has become. 'have done, ; ləcitok (1), lan lan duc (2) lan lan nitoc (3) lan lan toc (4), -doi (5), ləd kyau (6), la la toc (7), lan sum sum (8),

4. *Present continuous* : 'are doing'='they do' : ləca-to (1), lano-duš (2-4), lanuduš (5), lau-to (6), lano-toš (7), lano-doš (8), in a sentence like 'they are doing work for a long time.'

5. *Imperfect* : 'while doing' : laca laca/leci leci (1), lano lano (2-6, 8), lanc to lanc to (7), as in 'I am late on account of working continuously'.

'gone' (one who has gone) : roi roi (1), beo beo (2-3, 5), bibi (4, 7-8). Zeu (6) in how many days have gone (passed) since he left ?

6. *Past tense (verb substantive)* : 'was' : tute (1), tokeš (2-3, 7), toč (4, 8), tuš (5), tore (6), as in 'who was he ?'.

'asked' : ioš (2, 7), io (3, 7), isit (4), rute (1), imðk (5), sru (6), ii/is (8), as in 'sita asked Ram' etc.

'said' : rinde (1), riño (2, 7), riña (3-4), riñu (6, 8), riñ (5), as in 'he said to me,'

7. *Past Passive* : 'placed' : tðši toke (1), tata deñ (2-3), ta ta duñi (4), ta ta doiñ (5), tau tore (6), tata duē (7), tañ (8), in a sentence like 'where had you placed the clothes ?'

8. *Future* : will go' : runo (1), bito (2-4, 7-8), zei (6) 'will come' : tunna (1), bðto (2-4, 7-8), turo (6) in a sentence like 'whosoever will come, he will go'.

*Negative Future* : 'I will not go' : mora (1), mabðok (2, 5), mabik (3-4, 7-8), mazel (6).

'I cannot come' : ma lino (1), ma bðc (2), bðn mahðn (3, 5), bðnu ma hðnc (4), tud malič (1), za tuma mali (6), zðñ mabð (7), zðñ ma hðnc (8).

9. *Imperative* : 'sit down' : poši (1), tošiñ (2-4, 7-8), toš(5), pošma (6).

10. *Durative aspect* : 'we continued eating' : zahuni (1), zao beoc (2-4), zacea (5), zao pðšo (6), zao tokeč (7-8) ; 'he continued laughing, : kaca hunde (1), wado de (2); wado duč (3, 7), wado dugeš (4),-dumuk (5), watu pošu (6), wado duik (8) as in 'he continued laughing for a long time'.

From the dialectal variations noted above it is evident that there is a wide range of morphological markers in various varieties of Kinnauri. A fulfilled picture of all the variations can be presented through a comparative study of all the dialects of it.

## LINGUISTIC SUB-STRATA OF KINNAURI

An historical peep into the vocabulary and the structure of lower Kinnauri makes it evident that it has many layers of linguistic strata beneath the visible surface of it. There is a positive evidence that the lower most stratum pertains to the Old Indo Aryan<sup>1</sup> and the uppermost to the Tibeto Burman.



But the most interesting aspects of the formation of Kinnauri is this that it has a fairly good element of Austro-Asiatic which does not any more has traces of it in any other language of north India, except the Raji dialect of Ban Rauts of Pithoragarh. Existence of Munda elements in this language was noticed by earlier investigators as well. T.G. Bailey observes that it is one of the complex pronominalized languages of Tibeto-Himalayan group and shows many signs of Munda substratum (1938 : 46).

Infact, it was in 1905 that the attention of scholars was, for the first time, drawn to the close affinity between Tibeto-Himalayan languages of Himachal Pradesh, mainly spoken in the Kinnaur and Lahul regions of it, and the Munda languages being spoken in Chhota Nagpur, Santhal Pargana of Bihar, and in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, by Sten Konow. The Austro-Asiatic elements so prominently noticed by Konow in these dialects led to George Grierson to remark, "the indications of the ancient Munda influence on the forms of speech of Tibeto-Himalayan dialects is a matter of greatest interest. It connects languages spoken in lahul, Kinnaur and Chamba with the Munda languages of Central India, and, through them with the Khasi, spoken in Assam, and with Mon-Khmer languages of farther india." (L.S.I. Vol. I, Pt I, p. 59).

In it the Munda characteristics are so prominent that it stands alone from the other languages of the pronominalized Tibeto-Himalayan groups. Besides the prevalence of vigesimal numeral system<sup>1</sup> there are a number of morphological elements which follow the basic Munda patterns (see linguistic peculiarities). A few vocabulary items which forcibly draw our attention to the close affinity of these languages are : aba 'father', bakla, 'bark' (M) and baklɔs 'thick (K), puʃi 'cat', nunu (M) : nuni (K) nipple ; mid (M) : id (K) 'one', zom 'to eat', zorme

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1. See author's paper, 'Old Indo-Aryan Element in Kinnauri, *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, pp. 354-359.
  2. See author's paper 'Tibeto-Himalayan Numeral System, *PURBA* Vol. XVI, No. 2, pp. 175-90.

'to be born', lang (M), le : (K) tongue, no (M) : nu (K) that, diŋum (M) : deŋən (K) country side, ci 'what', gara (M) garən (K) river, dar 'wood', ro 'to burn ? meyang (M) mà (K) 'day after tomorrow', etc.

Another linguistic stream that has sub-merged into the main stream of Kinnauri but has left its strong impact on it, but towards which little attention has been paid by scholars who have worked on Kinnauri, is the Zhang Zhung language, the chief vehicle of Bon religion once having its predominance over the western Tibet and throughout the Himalayan range before Buddhism and its vehicle Central Tibetan language was super imposed on the people of these regions. Kinnauri, particularly upper Kinnauri and Chitkuli betrays a considerable impact of it, though to some extent it is traceable in lower Kinnauri as well, which may be attested from the following vocabulary items of purely Zhang Zhung origin :

*tig* > *id* 'one, a' : *ni* > *niš* 'two, *ɖug* > *ɖuk* six, *sniš* > *štiš* seven, *ra* > *ra* hundred, *ting* > *ti* water, *hrang* > *rang* horse, *dang* > *dang* and, *ñiri* > *ni* sun (chitkuli), *ba* > *boa* 'father, *gyum* > *am* path, *hrib* > *rib* rib(s), *bad* > *bod* skin. *khag* > *khang*/*khakang* mouth, (mar) *zhi* > *zang* gold (mar is a prefix), *camed* > *cimed* girl, daughter, *li* > *lan* wind, *kil* > *kilang* iron nail, *rang* > *rang* 'rust', *race* > *rəc* ear (Chitkuli), *yoze* > *ruza* old man, *a* > *a* : mouth (Chit.), *hrice* > *aci* Child/son (Chit.), *dubang* > *dukhang* trouble, etc.

Its close contact with Tibetan dialects spoken in its northern and eastern frontiers and also the religious impact of Buddhism has influenced its vocabulary to a great extent. The percentage of Tibetan vocabulary (and also of the grammatical structure is fairly high in the varieties of upper Kinnauri the adjoining parts of it and moderate in the dialects of Lower Kinnauri.

### *Linguistic peculiarities*

Kinnauri, as noted above, possesses on account of historical reasons, a number of linguistic peculiarities which exist neither in Indo-Aryan, nor in Tibeto-Burman languages which are the immediate neighbours of it. A few of these may be pointed out as under.

1. **Pronominal inflection** : In it all personal pronouns, for all the cases, are inflected for three numbers, viz. singular, dual plural (see pronouns).

2. **Inclusive and exclusiveness in the first person** : The complexity of inclusion or the exclusion of the addressee in the dual and plural forms of first person pronoun is a peculiar feature of it. Consequently, it maintains two separate stems of the 1st person pronoun, viz. /niñ-/ (exclusive) and /kasañ-/ (inclusive). There in the use of the former stem the addressee is excluded from taking part in the action in question, whereas in the use of the latter he is included, e.g. /niši bitič/ means 'we (excluding the addressee) will go', but /kasañ bitič/ means 'we (including the addressee) will go' (for details see Pronoun).

3. **Complexity of honorific and non-honorific pronominal and verbal forms** : Kinnauri maintains a fulfilled system of honorific and non-honorific in the second and third person pronominal and verbal forms, as in /khyad/ he saw (non-hon.): /khyas/ he saw (hon.) /khyan/ you saw (non-hon.): /khyañ/ you saw (hon.) etc.

4. **Dichotomy of animate and inanimate** : Besides the dichotomy of honorific and non-honorific, it also exhibits the dichotomy of animate and inanimate with respect to formative suffixes, case suffixes and gender suffixes. Consequently, all Indo-Aryan terms denoting animate objects have /-əs/ as their formative suffix, as in /corəs/ thief, /səpəs/ snake, and inanimate objects have /-əñ/, as in /kherəñ/ milk, /traməñ/ copper, etc. Similarly, the diminutive suffix /-č/ when added to animate objects denotes the difference of age or generation, as in /amač/ mother's younger sister or aunt, /baič/ younger sister, but /phadč/ a small bag, /paṭhuč/ a pitcher, etc.

In nominal and pronominal inflections, too, the nouns and pronouns standing for inanimate objects are inflected for locative case with case suffixes, /-o/-no/ as in /tio/ in the water, /boṭhaṇano/ on the trees, but take only post positions in the case of animate objects as in /raṇu den/ on the horse, /phoc den/ on the ass etc.

From the point of gender, too, it has been noticed that animate objects have a gender distinction but all inanimate objects are genderless.

5. **Infixation** : The most distinguishing feature of Kinnauri is the infixation of the pronominal object in the given verbal form itself. Accordingly, the first and the second person pronominal objects, represented by the affix /-č/ is infixed in between the verb stem and the tense-aspect-person-number markers, conversely the absence of this infix implies the object as being third person, e.g. /khyā-k/ I saw him. /khyā-cə-k/ I saw you, /khyā-cə-n/ thou saw me, etc.

Infixation between the verb root and the formative suffix also takes place when the sense of reciprocity is intended, as in /toŋmig/ to strike, but /toŋsimig/ to strike one another, /khyāmig/ to see : /khyāčimig/ to see each other, to meet.

6. **Correlation between verbal and pronominal stems** : Correlation between certain verbal roots and pronominal stems presents a syntactic peculiarity of it, e.g. there are two roots, viz. /ke-/ and /rən-/ for the verb 'give', out of these the former is used with first and second person pronominal objects and the latter with the third person, as in /dokeč/ he gives (me/us), but /do rəna/ he gives (him/them). Similar is the case of the verb roots /lən-/ and /riŋ-/ 'to say'. Here, too, the former is used with 3rd person object and the latter with 1st or 2nd person object, as in /gəʂ lok/ I said (to him, but /dos rəŋəʂ/ he said (to me)'.:

## RICHNESS OF KINNAURI

In certain respects Kinnauri is very rich in vocabulary and expression. It possesses a number of verbal roots capable of expressing varying shades of meaning. Here we shall give only a few examples to show this aspect of the language :

1. **Reference to days passed and to follow** : Kinnauri is capable of conveying by specific terms upto seven of the days passed and to follow. These are : /tero/ today, /mə/ yesterday, /nasəm/ tomorrow, /romi/ day after tomorrow, /pahe/ 4th day, /eŋi/ 5th day, /cei/ 6th day, /kroŋe/ 7th day.

2. **Different terms for snow** : Different terms to differentiate various forms of snow are :

/pom/ snow which has fallen on the ground, /phəŋic/ flakes

of snow while falling, 'saŋeṭṭh̄/ frozen form of it, /still/ perpetual snow on mountains.

3. **Different terms for alcoholic drinks** : Kinnaur prepares many varieties of alcoholic drinks which are denoted by a dozen distinctive terms such as—

- /ʃutuŋ/ raw wine, not fully firmanted.
- /rṭk/ fine quality brewed after firmantation.
- /bəl/~/muri/ first few bottles, very strong
- /skəl/~/rhasi/ remaining stock after /bəl/
- /ʃinspro/ with less alcoholic contents.
- /ṭh̄guri/ prepared from grapes
- /culrṭk/ prepared from culi (apricot)
- /seurṭk/ prepared from apple
- /brandi/ prepared from barley
- /chṭh̄/ a common drink prepared from barley.

#### **Semantic differentiations in verbal forms**

Semantically, it is the most rich area of Kinnauri, e.g. in it different verb roots are employed to convey different shades 'ripe and cook' : /luŋ mig/ with reference to agricultural products, /ʃomig/ with reference to horticultural products /bṭk mig/ with reference to boiled etc., /pan mig/ cooking of food material. Similar is the case with other action words as well.

#### **Works on Kinnauri**

Although attention of scholars was drawn to the linguistic peculiarities of the languages of this region by European scholars like Sten Konow, T.G. Bailey, A.G. Grierson etc. at the turn of last century and in the beginning of this century, yet no systematic work on its historical or descriptive analysis has come to light as yet. Some of the works pertaining to linguistic and other information on this region which have come to our notice are :

1. Gerald Alex. A Vocabulary of Koonawar Language—*JASB* 11 (1842).
2. Darvey C.J. 'A Vocabulary of Kinnauri', 1844.

3. Tribe, W.H. The Kinnauri Language 'the Punjab Notes and Querries' (a small note) 1884.
4. Rev. Bruski 'Mark, Khusiv Kaca' (Kinnauri translation of the Gospel of Saint Mark) 1905.
5. Bailey, T.G. "A Short Grammar of Standard Kinnauri," (*Z.D.M.G.* Vol. 1 xiii, pp. 661 ff, 1909). (An outline)
6. Bailey 'English-Kinnauri and Kanauri-English Vocabulary (*JRAS*, 1910-11).
7. Joshi, T.R. 'A Grammar and Dictionary of Kanawari'. Calcutta, 1909.
8. Bailey, T.C. "Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas." *R.S.A. Monograph*, 18 London (1920).
9. Grierson, A.G. "Detailed grammatical notes and select vocabulary," *L.S.I.* Vol. III, Pt. I, 1920.
10. Negi, W.C. 'A Primer of Kinnauri Dialects (nd).
11. Negi, T.S. Scheduled Tribes of Himachal Pradesh, Simla (with a brief note on language) 1976.
12. Sharma, B.R. 'Kinnaur Lok Sahitya' Bilaspur (with a Chapter on language), 1976.
13. Bailey, T.G. "Studies in North Indian Languages", London, (1938).
14. Hodson, T.C. "Numeral system of Tibeto-Burman Dialects," *JRAS* (1913).
15. Konow Sten, "Some facts connected with Tibeto-Burman Dialects spoken in Kinnaur", *ZDMG*, 59 (1905).

About the linguistic analysis presented in this volume, I would only like to mention that it is a simple descriptive analysis and aims at presenting the structure of a complex pronominalized language of the Western Himalayan group. There too, more attention has been paid to its morphological aspects as compared to phonological aspects.

With regard to English glosses of Kinnauri items it may be noted that they do not always imply a structural or lexical one to one correspondence between these two languages. At certain places these are lexis-bound translations and at others

almost free translations. In the translation of Kinnauri items I have followed the scheme of broad transcription given by IPA, with minor adjustments here and there.

Though every effort has been made to verify the data from native speakers of various valleys of Kinnaur, yet no tall claims can be made about its authenticity and exhaustibility. I am fully aware of the limitations of this preliminary study. There will always be a scope for improvement upon it. Nevertheless it is hoped that till such studies come to light this contribution will be welcomed by scholars interested in the study of Himalayan/Tribal languages of this sub-continent.

## II

### PHONOLOGY

#### VOWELS

On the basis of the following oppositions, we can establish a set of seven distinctive vowels, viz. /i, e, ə, u, o, ɔ, a/, for Kinnauri.

#### 1.1. Phonemic Contrasts

/i/ : /e/	/cimu/ to wash	/cemu/ to write
	/mi/ man	/me/ fire
	/ri/ day before yesterday	/re/ waist
	/ti/ water	/te/ how many
	/li/ also	/le:/ tongue
/u/ : /o/	/sil/ lunch	/sel/ medicine
	/du/ is	/do/ that
	/ʈhu/ why	/ʈho/charcoal
	/ʃum/ three	/som/ dawn
	/zu/ cloud	/zo/ yak
/a/ : /ə/	/ka/ walnut	/kə:/ thou
	/rak/ green	/ɾək/ wine
	/kak/ bitter	/kək/ a crow



	/chad/ son-in-law	/chəd/ what ?
	/ganhən/ a knot	/gənhən/ a bell
/a/ : /u/	/ša/ meat	/šu/ god
	/ra/ hundred	/ru/ father-in-law
	/pya/ bird	/pyu/ mouse
	/tañ/ see (imp.)	/tuñ/ drink (imp.)
/a/ : /i/	/ča/ (to) dance	/či-/ (to) wash
	/ka/ walnut	/ki/ you (hon.)
/a/ : /e/	/kačea/ bringer	/kečea/ giver
/u/ : /i/	/kum/ pillow	/kim/ house
	/su/ god	/si/ dead
	/ru/ father-in-law	/ri/ a tree
/a/ : /o/	/ka/ walnut	/ko/ towards
	/baśiñ/ adze	/bosən/ year, age
	/chad/ son-in-law	/chod/ please eat (imp.)
/u/ : /ɔ/	/phur/ a boil	/phər/ floor
/ə/ : /ɔ/	/lən/ cow	/lə:n/ nose screw
	/dəm/ good	/dəm/ breath
	/rək/ wine	/rək/ black
	/rəč/ calf (m)	/rəč/ musk deer
/a/ : /ɔ/	/chañ/ boy	/chən/ caravan
	/baśañ/ flute	/bośañ/ year, age
/ə/ : /i/	/kə/ thou	/ki/ you (hon.)
	/kən/ your (non. hon)	/kin/ your ( " )
	/rən/ iron	/ri : n/ credit
	/rəg/ stone	/rig/ louse
	/ləmik/ to harvest	/limik/ winnowing
/ə/ : /e/	/šəl/ summer	/šel/ medicine
	/rənnu/ to give	/rennu/ to sell
/ə/ : /u/	/kə ; / thou	/ku/ a tree
	/kəm/ less	/kum/ pillow
	/ə : / central vowel	/u : / flower
/i/ : /a/, /u/, /ɔ/	/ri/ day before yesterday	/ra/ hundred
	/kim/ house	/kum/ pillow
	/api/ grandmother	/apa/ father-in-law
	/dikč/ a small vessel	/dokč/ from there

Schematically all these vowel phonemes can be presented as under :-

Tongue position	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low	(E)	(á)	ɔ a
Lip position	Spread	neutral	rounded unrounded

### 1.2. Distribution

Distributionally, all the vowels can occur in all positions of a syllable or word. This can be illustrated as under :

/i/	/id/ one	/imig/ to ask	/mi/ man
/e/	/esa/ pleasant	/tete/ grand father	/me/ fire
[E]	[Em] sweet	[bEsa] sister's husband	[SE] ten
	/em/	/boesa/	/səy/
/u/	/u : / flower	/gud/ hand	/ru/ father-in-law
/o/	/omšya/ first	/dyaroci/ always	/gaɔ/ younger
[ɔ]	[ɔkəl] intellect	[zəri] anxiety	[həɔ] he
	/əkəl/	/zəri/	/həɔ/
/a/	/ama/ mother	/lan/ air	/ra/ hundred
/ə/	/əm/ path	/ləh/ low	/khə/ excreta

#### *The status of [E] and [ɔ]*

Although the phonetic realization of [E] and [ɔ] is very clear in many cases, yet owing to the absence of oppositions between /e/ and /E/, and /o/ and /ɔ/ the phonemic status of these vowels is not certain. Occurrence of [E] is limited to a few vocables and to the pronunciation of some individuals only. There, too, it is freely replaced by the mid front vowel /e/ or /oe/ as such it is a dialectal variant resulting from sequences of ə+y, as in [SE]=səy/ ten, or a+e as in [IE]=/lahe/ day or /oe/ as in [bEsa]</baesa/. As such there is no validity for setting up it as a separate phoneme. It can be taken up as an allophone of the phoneme /e/. The case of /ɔ/ is, however, a little bit different.

Though it is not a regular phoneme of the language because of the absence of its opposition with the phoneme /o/, yet its opposition with /ə/ makes a case for its being accepted as a phoneme. As such, it has a dual position, i.e. it is an independent phoneme contrasting with /ə/ and a rounded allophone of it, and of /o/ in predictable environments.

### 1.3. Phonetic Features and Allophones of Vowels

All the vowels are oral and voiced. The front and central vowels are unrounded and the back vowels are weakly rounded, /u/ a bit more than others.

From the point of articulation the tongue has three distinctive horizontal and vertical positions. Vertically it is high, mid and low, and horizontally front, central and back. Vowels [i, u] are high, [e, o, ə] are mid, and [E, ɔ, a] are low. On the other hand, [i, e, E] are front [a, ə] are central, and [a : ɔ, o, u] are back.

Kinnauri has no diphthongs. All the vowels are pure ones. Vowels /i/ and /u/, however, when followed by other vowels have an automatic weak glidal realizations. The low back vowel [ɔ] is a very low, a weakly rounded back vowel. It never occurs as a first member of a vowel sequence. The low front vowel [E] has a very limited occurrence. It is not much different from the Hindi /E/. Its phonemic status is very much doubtful, for it is attested in loan words only. In a naturalized pronunciations and dialectal variations it is freely replaced by /e/. Vowel phonemes /i, u/ have two allophones each, viz. [i, i :] and [u, u :] respectively. /i, u/ are slightly lower than /i :, u :/, /i/ is slightly less front than /i :/, and /u/ is slightly less back than /u :/. /e, o/ have three allophones each [e, e :, E] and [o, o :, ɔ] respectively, while /ə/ has three allophones viz. [ə, ä, ɔ], /ə/ is only slightly higher than /ä/.

Allophones vowels /i, u, ə/ are shorter in duration than their phonemic norms. In them difference in duration becomes quite significant in certain environments. Phonetically, these are shorter in closed monosyllabic words and before consonant clusters/geminates, and longer in open syllables, particularly in the pre-pausal position. [E] the lower-mid front allophone is mostly confined to loan words, particularly from Hindi. /ɔ/ the

lower-mid back vowel is a phoneme as well as an allophone of /o/ and /ə/. The most favourable environments of this allophone are-initial open syllables and nasal coda margins.

In historical development length of all vowels has become significant in Kinnauri. In normal articulation the quality and duration of all the vowels are affected by their preceding and following phonetic environments.

Phonetically, all vowels exhibit a certain degree of nasalization in the vicinity of a nasal coda margin, and as such it is predictable and non-phonemic, though the phonemic nasalization also is there.

#### 1.4. Vowel Sequences

There are no diphthongs in Kinnauri, but it has vocalic sequences of the following nature :

##### *Front+back :*

ia—/biañ/ fear, /hateã/ anyone, /haliã/ anyhow.

iu—/miu/ of man, /biu/ go (imp.)

eu—/seu/ apple

io—/bio/ went, /cio/ washed, /si : o/ died

eo—/ateo/ of elder brother's, /neo/ know (imp.)

##### *Back+front :*

ui—/kui/ dog, /rui/ cotton, /suig/ red

oi—/coi/ all, /doĩñ/ hole, /phois/ free, /goĩniñ/ rain

ai—/ai/ next, /main/ navel, /baič/ younger sister

ae—/lae/ day

##### *back+back :*

ou—/dou/ his

au—/tau/ fever, /dauč/ elder sister, /kuanč/ pond of water

ua—/yua/ down, /zua/ a pot for milking

ao—/zao/, eat (imp.), /čao/ dance (imp), /khyao/ see (imp.)

##### *front+Central :*

eə—/deəñ/ body, /iəñ/ once

##### *Central+front :*

i—/čəipəñ/ everywhere, /čəi/ all

**Central+back :**

əu—/khəu/ meals

**back+Central :**

uθ—/duθn/ smoke, /kuθn/ pond of water

**back+front+back :**

uiu—/kuiu/ (kuyu) of the dog.

Morphologically all verbal stems, ending in a vowel can have /o/ as a sequential vowel in their past tense and polite imperative forms, as well as when simultaneity is expressed, as in /khyao/ seeing, /phi/ : /o/ carrying, thuo raising etc.

In our data occurrence of *ɔ* and *E*, whose phonemic status is doubtful, is not attested either as a first or second member of any vocalic sequence. Sequential occurrence of identical vowels too, is not attested. All such sequences have developed into respective long vowels, e.g. /gindu. u/>/gindu : / of the ball, /zoo/>/zo : / of the yak, </zo/ yak ; /siio/>/si/ : /o/ dying, /doo/>/do : / his. Non-occurrence of certain possible combinations may be accidental.

**1.5. Semi-Vowels and Glides**

/y/ and /w/ are semivowels. They are both consonantal as well as glidal. Their consonantal character is attested in the initial position only. In this position both are usually followed by a low back vowel /a/ or a central vowel /ə/. In a non-initial positions these become virtual glides. These are neither geminated nor clustered as a first member of a consonant cluster.

**Distribution of /y/ and /w/ :**

/y/—/ya/ drawing attention among equals, /yug~yəwa/ below, /yañ/ a fly, /kayəñ/ a dance, /səy/ ten, /rəy/ eight.

/dəyəñ/ curd, /dyaro/ daily, /pyañ/ danger, /ʃyalič/ fox

/w/—/wa/ nest, /chwa/ corn, /skokawa/ boiled, /səwa/ 1½,

/wašyañ/ bee, /waš/ honey, /wark/ distance, /pawəñ/ field,

/swig/ red, /twarəñ/ sunday.

In the non-initial positions a (w) like back glide is automatic between /u/ or /o/ and any following vowel particularly /a/, as in /boa/=[bowa] father, /thua/=[thwa] up, upon, /yua/=[yuwa]

down, below, and a (y) like front glide is realized in vocalic sequences of front+back, or back+front, as in /boṭia/=[boṭiya] a cook, /doiṇ/=[dɔyṇ] curd, /biaṇ/=[byaṇ] danger, etc.

## CONSONANTS

### 2.1. Phonemic Contrasts

We get atleast 32 consonantal phonemes for Kinnauri on the basis of the following oppositions :

(a) *Stops : Voiced and Voiceless :*

k/g	/kṭ/	thou	/gṭ/	I
	/ṭak/	barley	/ṭug/	six
	/mukṭṇ/	an axe type spade	/mugṭṇ/	a kind of lentils
	/rṭk/	wine	/rṭg/	stone
	/khṭlaṇ/	granary	/golaṇ/	throat
c/j	/khṭl/	oil cake	/gol/	month
	/skṭr/	stars	/gṭr/	tooth
	/corṭs/	thief	/zoris/	anxiety
	/pyač/	bird	/pyaj/	onion
t/ḍ	/phoč/	ass	/phoj/	army
	/ṭa/	step of a stair	/ḍa/	theft
	/ṭunṭṇ/	ornament	/ḍanṭṇ/	punishment
	/ṭak/	barley	/ḍak/	mail
t/d	/kuṣṭ/	a kind of tree	/kund/	pond
	/ta/	place (imp.)	/da/	besides
	/hṭte/	who (pl.)	/hṭdis/	like that
	/bot/	butter milk	/bod/	skin, bark
	/chṭt/	light (N.)	/chṭd/	son-in-law
p/b	/thṭṇ/	boiled tea before mixing milk	/dṭṇ/	blue partridge
	/pramig/	to be spread	/bramig/	to spread
	/pṭš/	sow (imp.)	/bṭš/	rope
	/papṭṇ/	kindness	/pabṭṇ/	pasture land
	/šu/ : /p/	winnowing basket	/šub/	foam

ts/ dz	/tso/ thorn	/dzo/ this
	/tsu/ cough	/zu/ cloud
s/z	/tsamik/ to dance	/zamik/ to eat
	/sañ/ touch of cedar sticks	/zñ/ gold
	/su/ wash (imp.)	/zo/ yak
	/som/ morning	/zom/ a wooden container for water
š/z	/šu/ god	/žu/ cloud
	/šokrñ/ orphan	/zopriñ/ hell

(b) *Aspirate and Unaspirate :*

k/kh	/kə:/ thou	/khə/ excreta
	/kaniñ/ mortar of pounding	/khaniñ/ mine of ore
	/mukðñ/ axe type spade	/mukhðñ/ mask
	/kod/ manure	/khod/ dendruph
c/ch	/ca/ tea	/cha/ salt
	/cini/ sugar	/chini/chisel
	/cod/ light up (imp.)	/chod/ drink/ eat (plite imp.)
ts/tsh	/tsəm/ wool	/tshəm/ stair/bridge
	/tsu/ cough	/tshu/ a wooden measurement
t/ṭh	/tsṭə/ heap of wood	/tshṭə/ loss, damage
	/ṭətu/ pony	/ṭhəṭ/ joke, jest
t/th	/mutu/ thorn	/muṭhu/ fist
	/ta/ place (imp.)	/tha/ don't (imp. Neg.)
p/ph	/hətu/ whose? (sg.)	/həthu/, an iron vessel
	/pya/~pyac/ bird	/phyā/ forehead
	/pyu/ mouse	/phyu/ take away (imp.)

(c) *Comparable contrast between palatal plosives and palatal affricates :*

c/ts	/cu/ soot	/tsu/ cough
	/ca/ tea	/tsa/ stone slab
ch/tsh	/chulmik/ to cut wood	/tshulmik/ to bark
	/vegetable/	

j/z	/jə̃n/ here	/zə̃n/ show (imp.)
	/jo/ this	/zo/ yak

(d) *Comparable Contrast between dental and retroflex plosives :*

t/ṭ	/terə̃n/ when	/ṭhepə̃n/ cap
	/pat/ a tree	/pat/ a piece
	/stə̃g/ puss	/stug/ chest
th/ṭh	/thig/ sweet	/ṭhis/ wet (adj.)
	/du/ a food preparation	/ṭhu/ why?
d/ḍ	/dalmə̃n/ pomogranate	/ḍalə̃n/ branch
	/hə̃ldo/ turmaric	/hə̃ldo/ flood
	/dək/ then	/ḍak/ mail
	/dukhə̃n/ sorrow	/ḍokhãn/ rock

(e) *Nasals :*

m/n	/mi/ man	/ni/ correct
	/kimo/ in the house	/kino/ you (pl.)
	/bam/ a small drum	/ban/ oak tree
	/malə̃n/ garland	/nalə̃n/ canal
	/rim/ field	/ri/ : /n/ debit
m/ṇ	/ma/ not	/ṇa/ five
	/bam/ a small drum	/baṇ/ leg
	/lum/ thigh	/luṇ/ religious precept
	/ama/ mother	/ə̃ṇu/ for me
	/čham/ ladder	/čhaṇ/ boy
	/soma/ dawn	/soṇa/ fifteen
n/ṇ	/rə̃n/ iron	/rə̃ṇ/ horse
	/na/ : /r/ wife	/ṇard/ five hundred
	/ban/ oak tree	/baṇ/ foot, leg
	/lan/ air	/laṇ/ cow
	/hun/ ~ /huni/ now	/hə̃ṇ/ worm
	/pin/ a pin	/piṇ/ cheek
	/lə̃ncimig/ to dress	/lə̃ṇcimig/ to wait

(f) *Fricatives*

ʃ/s	/ʃu/ god	/su/ wash (imp.)
	/wə̃ʃ/ left over of food	/wə̃s/ honey
	/liʃ/ cold	/les/ male genitic organ



(g) *Liquids* :

l/r	/li/ egg	/rid/ thread
	/le/ : // tongue	/re/ : // waist
	/li/ : / also	/ri/ : // a tree
	/lim/ a species of pine	/rim/ field
	/lɔʃ/ wet, mud	/rɔs/ pointed/short
	/gol/ round	/gor/ churning pot

*Semi Consonants* :

y/w	/ya/ calling attention among equals
	/wa/ nest

All the consonant phonemes thus obtained from the above oppositions can, schemetically be presented as below :

According to place of articulation		Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
According to manner of articulation	Fricatives → Affricates Stops	Unvoiced	p	t			k	
		" Asp.	ph	th			kh	
		Voiced	b	d			g	
		Unvoiced			ts		ç	
		" Asp.			tsh		čh	
		Voiced			dz		j	
		Unvoiced			s	(š)	š	h
		Voiced			z		ž	
		Trill			r(r)			
		Lateral			l			
		Nasal	m	n		ɲ	ɳ	ɳ
		Semi-consonant	w				y	

**2.2 Distribution :** Distributionally, all the consonant phonemes can occur in the initial and medial positions, but only a few in the final position. Aspirate stop consonants, voiced palatal fricatives, glottal fricative /h/ and bilabial semiconsonant /w/ do not occur in this position. Occurrence of aspirate plosives is also very limited in the medial positions.

(a) *Positional Distribution of Consonants :*

Positional distribution of consonants is attested as under :

/p/	/piʃtiŋ/ back	/tipu/ a drop	/ʃu : p/ winnowing basket
	/polac/ blood	/lɐpəŋ/ flame	/tʰap/ liver
/ph/	/phoc/ ass	/phyɑ/ forehead	/saph/ clean
	/phaliŋ/ fire place	—	—
/b/	/boʃəŋ/ age, year	/pabəŋ/ pasture	/rib/ rib
	/bospa/ ashes	/zobmig/ to descend	/ʃub/ foam
/t/	/tipu/ a drop	/tʰatig/ mosquito	/it/ one
	/toŋmig/ to beat	/ratiŋ/ night	/həʔ/ who (sg).
/th/	/tha/ bottom	/pəʈrəŋ/ leaf	/kathəŋ/ a comb
/d/	/du/ is	/nidrəŋ/ a sleep	/phəʔ/ bag
	/dari/ beard	/sadəŋ/ quiet	/chad/ son-in law
/t/	/taʈu/ pony	/baʈiʃ/ bowl	/li : t/ egg
	/tak/ barley	/maʈiŋ/ clay	/khyot/ spoon
/th/	/tʰepəŋ/ cap	/reʈho/ a fruit	/boʈhəŋ/ tree
	/tʰo/ charcoal	/gəŋtʰəŋ/ bell	/yutʰuŋ/ low, under
/d/	/dɛəŋ/ body	/goldɛs/ vuttere	/kund/ pond
	/dɛkhraʃ/ lad	/həʔdɔ/ flood	/dundu/ owl
/k/	/kak/ bitter	/dɔkəŋ/ mountain	/rəʔk/ wine
	/kasəŋ/ bronze	/khakəŋ/ mouth	/rəʔk/black
/kh/	/khakəŋ/ mouth	/rikʰa/ bear (n)	/khyuʃ/ arm
	/khumani/ appricot	/dakhəŋ/ grapes	/khra/ phelgam
/g/	/gud/ hand	/bagiʃ/ thin	/teg/ big, elder
	/galyɑ/ abuse	/ɔgmig/ to leak	/suig/ red
/c/	/tʃa/ tea	/icci/ alone	/phoʃ/ ass
	/tʃamig/ to dance	/tʃuʃu/ nipple	/naŋʃ/ bowl
/ch/	/tʃha/ salt	/machəʃs/ fish	/muʃh/ moustache
	/chulmig/ to cut	/chəʔb/ nose screw	
/j/	/jəʈhaj/ plane	/bijuli/ lightning	/phoj/ army
			/pyaj/ onion
(ɕ)	/tʃaŋer/ basket	/unimig/ to get	/nakiʃi/ lean
	/tʃu/ cough	/gaʃiŋ/ belt	/tʃi/ grass
/tʃh/	/tʃhəʈa/ damage	/tʃaŋ/ boy	/tʃəʈm/stair, bridge
	/jʰulmig/ to bark	/tʃhu/ a wooden measurement.	
/j/	/ju/ cloud	/majəŋ/ middle	
	/jigij/ small	/əʈmji/ physician	/aj/ goat

/m/	/me/ fire	/amač/ aunt	/som/ morning
	/mari/ bad	/muma/ maternal uncle	/əm/ path
/n/	/ni/ correct	/kanəñ/ ear	/lan/ air
	/nañč/ bowl	/huni/ now	/gun/ winter
/ñ/	/ña/ five	/cañer/ basket	/pištñ/ back
	/ñər/ anger	/nañč/ bowl	/chañ/ boy
/ñ/	/ñums/ behind,	/añares/ darkness	/i : ñ/ ask (imp.)
	/ñuk/ young	/ñumsya/ earlier	
/ŋ/	/repikəñ/ marriage	/rəñsiñ/ trumpet	
	/rəñes/ bridegroom	/sañəñ/ lock	/soñəñ/ beak
/r/	/rikha/ a bear	/mari/ bad	/zər/ corner
	/rim/ field	/laro/ bridegroom	/mar/ butter
/r/	/joɾi/ pair	/aɾu/ peach (no contrast with r/)	
/l/	/lum/ thigh	/daləñ/ branc	/šel/ medicine
	/lan/ air	/nəlič/ mangoose	/mul/ silver
/š/	/ša/ meat	/rošəñ/ anger	/uš/ old
	/šu/ god	/aša/ hope	/pəš/ bedding
/s/	/sasəñ/ breath	/basiñ/ to ascend	/laməś/ long
	/seməñ/ animal	/eisəñ/ flour	/lis/ cool
/ž/	/žu/ cloud	/həžəñ/ here	/zopriñ/ hell
/z/	/zo/ yak	/niza/ twenty	/ilaz/ treatment
	/zər/ corner	/ruza/ oldman	/zoris/ anxious
/h/	/huni/ now	/mehəñ/ glow-worm	/hət/ who?
	/hacimig/ to become	/bəhenmig/ to flow	/haliä/ anyhow
/y/	/yañ/ a fly	/koyä/ pegin	/rəy/ eight
	/yug/ below	/kayəñ/ a dance	/səy/ ten
/w/	/wa/ nest	/skokawa/ boiled	/wəš/ honey
	/wəšyañ/ bee	/wark/ distance	/səwa/ ¼

### 2.3 Phonetic Features and Allophones

In all, there are thirty two distinctive consonant phonemes in Kinnauri, out of these eighteen stop-affricates can be classified into a three way opposition on account of presence and absence of voice and aspiration ; As such /p, t, t̥, k, c, ts/ are unvoiced, /b, d, d̥, g, j, dz/ voiced, and /ph, th, t̪h, kh, ch, tsh/ aspirates. The opposition of voice and voicelessness is attested in sibilants as well. The glottal fricative /h/ is only voiceless, all others are voiced ones, having no voiceless or aspirated counterparts.

In terms of articulation these consonants attest a binary division of place of articulation and manner of articulation. According to the former they are bilabial, dental, alveolar, retroflex, palatal, velar, and glottal, when taken vertically, and according to the latter they are stops (plosives), affricates, fricatives, nasals, trill, lateral, and semiconsonants.

Kinnauri, like many other Tibeto-Himalayan languages is quite rich in respect of affricates and fricatives. It has in all six affricates, (3 alveolar and 3 palatal), and an equal number of fricatives, of which four are unvoiced /ʃ, ʂ, s, h/ and two voiced /z, ʒ/.

Velar articulations vary from pre-velar to post-velar positions, conditioned by adjacent vowel or their position in the word. It is more or less a glottalized one /dwak̚/ = (dwaq̚č) : 'from'.

Retroflexion is normally weak, articulations varying between alveolar and pre-palatal regions. Palatal stops are clearly affricated with a sibilant quality in the off-glides.

Dental articulations are more in the nature of post-dental and the articulator is always blade rather than tip. The articulation of retroflex consonants is near to post-dental articulation with front vowels, but is clear with back vowels, particularly with /o/ and /u/ as in /t̪ho/ 'charcoal', /t̪hu/ 'why'.

There is a clear opposition of aspirate and unaspirate in voiceless stops, but it is attested in the initial and medial positions only. Aspirate consonants rather do not occur in the final position. Aspirations does not occur with voiced consonants as well. Even in loan words it is not maintained. As such all voiced aspirates occurring in Indo-Aryan loans are realized as deaspirated ones, as in /b̪ə̃n̪ar̪ə̃/ < bhāṇḍāgāraṃ store-room, /bar̪ə̃/ load. In this treatise aspirated stops have been treated as unit phonemes, though transcribed digraphs. But no confusion can arise from this transcription, because of severe restrictions of distribution of /h/ which never occurs after a stop consonant within a syllabic unit.

Voice is a phonemic feature, but it is neutralized in the final position. Consequently there is no distinction between /—m̪ig̪—m̪ik̪/ 'infinitive marker', /gyas̪id̪—gyas̪it̪/ 'dear', /id̪—it̪/ 'one'. Opposition between voiced and voiceless post-dental

sibilants /s : z/ and slightly retroflex alveolar sibilants /ʃ : ʒ/ is fairly clear in all dialects. Opposition between palatal /ch/ and /ʃ/ is also attested in certain words, as in /cha/ salt : /ša/ meat, but in some areal variants it is lost, as in /golchəŋ/ ~ /golʃəŋ/ 'moon'.

(a) *A Note on Allophonic Variants :*

All consonants have allophonic variants conditioned by their specific phonetic environments, but some of these need to be mentioned here specifically.

There is a retracted velar allophone (k') of the phoneme /k/ realized before a pause.

In some dialects a non-trilled /ɾ/ is realized with front vowels, as in /re/ waist.

The retroflex flapped [ɾ] and the retroflex sibilant [ʂ] have only an allophonic status in the language. The former is only a regional allophone of the phoneme /ɾ/ and the latter of the palatal sibilant /ʃ/. The [ɾ] pronunciation, in place of /ɾ/, is sporadically attested in the pronunciation of educated individuals in Hindi loans, as in /təkrɪ/ balances, which otherwise is pronounced as /təkri/. In the process of naturalization too an Indo-Aryan /ɾ/ becomes /r/ in it, as in /cimɾniŋ/ = Hindi /cimṛna/ to cling. No opposition is attested between /ɾ/ and /d/ as well. Therefore, /ɾ/ has not been given the status of a phoneme, it is rather an allophone of /ɾ/, not of /d/ as attested in IA dialects. The allophone [ʂ] is realized only when occurring in conjunction with a retroflex plosive as its first member, as in /piʂtiŋ/ back.

The palatal and the retroflex nasals have very low functional load, /ɲ/ occurring only in an intervocalic positions, with a very low frequency. In the absence of its opposition with other nasals its phonemic position is very doubtful. However, on the basis of non-predictable distributional environments of /n/ and /ɲ/, and occurrence of both in an intervocalic position, it has been accorded a status of a phoneme. /ɲ/ never occurs initially nor finally.

Occurrence of the glottal fricative /h/ too is very limited. The most favourable environment for its occurrence is the initial position. It never occurs in the final position. In the

medial position it can be heard in a slow and careful pronunciation only.

(b) *Overall tendencies of Allophonic Variants :*

Some of the notable tendencies of the allophones of consonantal phonemes in Kinnauri can be pointed out as under :

(i) *Position of final plosives* : Kinnauri is predominantly a vowel-ending and non-stop consonant ending language. As such the scope for the occurrence of plosives in this position is very limited. Still, it has been noticed that in pre-pausal positions the consonantal release of a plosive is tremendously reduced, sometimes resulting into an indeterminate variant of it, characterised with incomplete articulation.

This feature of the consonantal articulation of Kinnauri has also been reported by earlier writers. Bailey, T.G. observes : "The greatest difficulty in Kinnauri pronunciation is found in connection with half altered *g* or *k*, as found at the end of a syllable and especially at the end of a word", (1975 : 81). Frequency of *g* and *k* as infinitive markers and number-person markers in verbal constructions is fairly large. Besides these velars, this phenomenon is attested with regard to *d* as well.

However, in the case of non-stop consonants which are common endings in a syllable or a word, no such phenomenon is attested, i.e., they have a clear consonantal release.

(ii) *De-aspiration* : As stated above no aspirate consonant occurs in the pre-pausal position in this language. In the medial position, too, an aspirate tends to be de-aspirated if it is followed by an unaspirate consonant in the succeeding syllable.

(iii) *Aspiration* : Contrary to the tendency of deaspiration, Bailey, T.G. has observed that there are instances in which an unaspirate consonant tends to have aspiration. The examples given by him (1938 : 82) are : *roth* (sg.) native loaf, but *rote* (pl.) ; *suth* but *sufe* (pl.). But no instance of realizing an unaspirate consonant as aspirate in the final position has come to my notice.

(iv) *De-Voicing* : Voiced consonants are usually perceived as their voiceless counterparts in the pre-pausal position, as in /mig/=[mik] eye, /ðg/=[ðk] cave, but /ðgu/ of the cave ;

/krəb—/[krəp—] to weep. /had/[hət] who, etc. But, besides the final position, in the medial position, too, a voiced consonant is perceived as its unvoiced counter-part if followed by an unvoiced consonant, e.g. /gudpəh/[gutpəh] for the hand. In fact, the voice feature of the language is neutralized in these positions.

## CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The following type of consonant clusters (intrasyllabic) and consonant sequences (inter-syllabic) are usually attested in all the dialects of Kinnauri. It is, like many other Tibeto-Himalayan languages, very rich in initial clusters. In this respect some of its dialects are even richer than the standard dialect. For, in the standard dialect many initial sibilant plus stop clusters have been levelled up.

### Initial Clusters

There are five types of two member initial clusters.

#### 1. *Fricative + Stop* :

spu	hair on the body	sto	face
sgui	nine	sgəm	to bow
skət	language	sksemig	to comb
sgəlcimig	to hiccup	stiš	seven
stupc	palm	spac	grand children
sgismig	to sneeze	sturpyac	bat
skli	urine	sbi	bustered
stək	puss	žga	saddle
skər	star	sług	chest

#### 2. *Stop + trilled* :

kra	hair	khramig	to be late
brəgmig	to chew	krəč	(she) calf
thrub	lungs	thrəs	paralysis
kruc	elbow	krəbmig	to weep
pramig	to spread	khra	phelgam
phralmig	to fell	trəkli	balances

brəspət	Thursday	brinlyamig	to wrap
brəcikšya	slippery		

3. *Consonant (stop, nasal) + semi consonant (y, w) :*

+y kyep	needle	pyu	mouse
pya	bird	phya	forehead
dyaroči	always	khyamig	to see
dyoro	daily	byaṇ	danger
šyalič	fox	pyaj	onion
khyṛ	mat	khyoṭ	spoon
gyasid	dear	byaz	interest
ṇyal	rest	ryaməg	beautiful
myag	a kind of grass	nyug	new
hyumšya	last	byasəṇ	habit
khyuc	arm	kyəlban	cedar tree
+w gwalmig	to dig	thwa	up, above
khwəṭləṇ	cattle shed	kwalmig	to change
chwa	grain	twarəṇ	Sunday
khwəcimig	to over flow	gwamig	to jump

4. *Fricative + semiconsonant :*

+y	hyocimig	to play
	hyuamig	to grind
š + y	šya	(areal variant of /ša/meat)
	—šya	a formative suffix.

5. *Liquids + fricative :*

l + h	lhəsta	axe	thanmig	to do
r + h	rhi	day before	rhəṇ	horse
		yesterday		

With regard to initial clusters it may be noted that the Sangla and Nichar varieties of it vindicate a stronger tendency to maintain them, whereas in the standard form many of them have been levelled. For instance—(here the first forms represent Sangla (Kilba)—Nichar and the second Kalpa) .

trəkli	təkri	balances
ṭrag	ṭag	barley
sturpya	turpya	bat



skwacimu	kwalmig	to change
ṭhro	ṭho	charcoal
hyume	yume	mother-in-law
hrig	rig	louse
ṭrana	ṭarəṇ	ornament
rhəg	rəg	stone
ṭhrumu	ṭhumig	swelling
ṭəl	ṭəl	light
ṭhrog	ṭhog	white
ṭhru	ṭhu	why
sprĩnk	prĩnk	wet

### Final Clusters

Kinnauri is primarily a vowel ending or *-i* ending language, therefore, it has a limited number of final clusters. The nature of the final clusters attested in our data is as under :

#### 1. Fricative + stop :

ušk	earlier
-----	---------

#### 2. Nasal + stop/sibilant :

mənt	female	nañč	bowl
rañk	height	nañs	plate of metal
kun̄k	wide	oms	before, in front

#### 3. Liquid + stop/affricate :

təlk	hard	surk	sour
solč	plant	phərz	duty

#### 4. Plosive + affricate :

bələkč	spider	ḍikč	a small vessel
dokč	from		

### 3.3 Three Member Clusters

Besides, Kinnauri has clusters constituting three components of the following nature :

#### (a) INITIAL

##### 1. Sibilant + stop + semivowel :

spyugmig	to extinguish	sgyəl	lane
skwanning	to melt (trans)	to boil	

2. *Sibilant + stop + liquids* :

skli	urine	skyo	male
------	-------	------	------

(b) *MEDIAL*1. *Nasal + plosive/liquid/semivowel* :

gungyale	bride	səntɾəŋ	loom
pantrə	spindle	phindri	circle
duŋgyur	praying wheel	brinlyamig	to wrap

2. *Liquid + plosive + semivowel* :

tulkyamig	seasoning	sturpya	bat
pəɭtyamo	returning	həsəɭbyo	rush (imp.)

3. *Nasal + sibilant + semivowel/plosive* :

lənšya	doer (Masc)	rənsya	giver (masc)
constaŋ	younger in age	omšya	first

4. *Plosive + liquid/sibilant + semivowel* :

(mig)	phətryamo	to wink	phukryamig	to blow
	brəɭkikšya	slippery	lubgyami g	to cover

3.4 *Medial Clusters*

All types of clusters attested in the word final position can occur in the medial position as well. In addition, almost any pair of consonants can occur, in a sequence as a syllable closing consonant, i.e. as coda margin, and as a syllable opening consonant, i.e. as an onset margin of a succeeding syllables. In many instances these may occur even across the morpheme boundaries of the word concerned. It makes, however, a real cluster if the second component of it is a semiconsonant.

Within the word boundary, the following patterns are, usually, attested.

1. *Plosive + plosive/nasal/sibilant* :

-tk-	chetkaŋ	chin
-kp-	šəkpə	son-in-law
-gč-	legčimu	to burn (intrans.)
-ks-	nuksan	loss
-gs-	chugsimig	to meet

-dk-	rōdko	west
-dp-	chedpa	fine
-dk-	dakcimig	to remain
-ks-	raksə	demon
-kc-	sokcimig	to ride

*Note* : Verbal noun formative suffix, -mig~mu or -nig~nu can follow any verb-stem-final consonant. Consequently, plosive+nasal or nasal+nasal sequences are very frequent, e.g. /pogmig~pogmu/ to roast, /stunmig~stunmu/ to make to drink.

2. *Plosive+Liquid/semiconsonant* :

-pl-	pipli	pepper
-thr-	zithrəñ	sickle
-tr-	patrə	ankle
-kr-	tə̌kri	balances
-gl-	daglo	bracelet
-khr-	kukhri	hen
-dr-	midrəñ	sleep
-tl-	mə̌tlə̌b	meaning
-py-	turpya	bat
-gy-	uncigya	beggar
-thy-	pothyamig	to come back
-tw-	itwarəñ	Sunday

3. *Nasal+plosive/liquid/sibilant/semiconsonant* :

-mk-	šumki	all the three
-mc-	semcəñ	animal
-nc-	lancimig	to wait
-nɖ-	ɖunɖu	owl
-nɰh-	banɰhañ	fallowl and
-nd-	zinda	alive
-mp-	gompa	a step
-nt-	chanɰe	clever
-ŋg-	thə̌ngə̌ñ	pillar
-nr-	thoñra	marigold
-ms-	somsi	early morning
-mz-	ə̌mzi	physician (local)

-ny-	zunyamig	to shake
-ŋy-	khəŋyamig	to divide

4. *Liquid + plosive/fricative/semiconstant/nasal* :

-lɔ-	goldes	vulture
-ld-	həldo	turmeric
-lt-	gəlti	mistake
-lb-	kyelbaŋ	cidar tree
-lch-	golchaŋ	moon
-lth-	bəlthəŋ	roof
-rg-	sərgəŋ	sky
-rk-	zerko	east
-rs-	chərsid	died
-rs-	sərsimig	to arise
-ry-	kheryamig	to chase
-ly-	galya	abuse
-lm-	yəlmū	tired
-rw-	tərwəl	sword

(nasal is attested in verbal noun forms of r/t ending stems)

5. *Fricative + plosive/semiconsonant/nasal* :

-st-	lhəsta	axe
-st-	dusti	perspiration
-sk-	tiskə	thirst
-sb-	buʃbaŋ	knee
-sg-	sesgui	nineteen
-sy-	waʃya	bee
-ʃy-	kuʃyaŋug	to wipe
-phw-	phwa	rumour
-hw-	tihwarəŋ	festival
-sm-	sosməŋ	mustard
-sn-	ləsnəŋ	garlic

### 3.5 Overall Structure of Clusters or Sequences

From the above data of consonant clusters or sequences in Kinnuari it may be observed that :

1. in the initial two member clusters the most common components are—stop/fricative + continuants, or fricative + stops, and in a three member cluster, the first component is invariably

a sibilant, the second a stop and the third a semiconsonant or a liquid.

2. In the final position it has only two member clusters, the first member could be consonants of any class but the final is a stop or sibilant only.

3. In the medial position, however, in two member sequence the components could be any class of consonants, but in three member clusters there are only a few patterns. In it, generally, the first constituent is a nasal or a liquid, the second a plosive or sibilant and the third a continuant. With regard to the first component there are a few exceptions, but there, too, the third component invariably agrees with the general pattern.

4. No sequence of aspirate+unaspirate stops is attested in any position or pattern.

5. The consonants constituting the second and third members of a medial three member cluster can also occur, in the same order, as a two member word initial cluster.

6. In various morphological constructions all sorts of combinations are possible across the morpheme boundaries.

### 3.6 Gemination

Gemination or consonantal length, though realized in the normal pronunciation of certain vocables, is not significant in it. I could not come across any minimal pair of words in which gemination may have served as a distinctive feature. It is purely a result of higher stress on the preceding syllable, if both the syllable are open, and the onset margin of the succeeding syllable is a nasal liquid or an unaspirate plosive, as in /phammo/ 'defeat,' /bennan/ 'love,' /icci/ 'alone, single,' /kuppayuk/ 'steep' /cholli/ showl.

## SYLLABLE

### 4.1 Nature and Structure

In Kinnauri, as in most other languages, a syllable is vocalic unit or a combination of a vocalic unit preceded or followed by one or more consonantal margins. In the latter type the vocalic unit constitutes as 'peak' or 'nucleus' of the syllable and all peripheral consonantal or semi-consonantal phonemes

as its margins. A syllable may have a zero margin or a simple or complex (cluster) margin on either side of the syllable peak. Normally, a complex margin is a cluster of two consonants, but there are very many instances in Kinnauri in which more than two consonants occur as a complex margin of a syllable peak.

#### 4.2 Positional Distribution of Syllabic Constituents

(a) *Syllable nucleus* : All vowel phonemes, without any exception, can occur in all positions of a syllable with all types of permissible margins, for instance, /ðm/ path, /ka/ walnut, /id/ one, /u:/ flower, /me/ fire, /zo/ yak, /rðk/ black.

(b) *Syllable margin* : All consonants, with the following exceptions, can occur singly or in cluster as onset margin of a syllable peak.

In an initial syllable /y/ does not occur with /i, e/ and /w/ with /u, o/ syllable peaks. In a complex onset margin too a semiconsonant cannot be the first component of it. All restrictions noted with regard to final occurrence of consonants are fully valid with regard to coda margin of a syllable peak as well (see 2.8).

#### 4.3 Patterns of Syllabic Units

A word level analysis of Kinnauri attests the following patterns of syllabic units. (Here 'V' represents a syllable peak, including a nasalized one, and 'C' a syllable margin, including an aspirated phonemic unit). In this language there can be one to five phonemic units in a syllable which can occur in their permissible order. All the eleven monosyllabic patterns given below can also constitute a syllabic unit of a disyllabic or a polysyllabic word in it.

/V/	/u:/	flower	/ð/	yes
/VC/	/ð m/	path	/id/	one
/CV/	/co/	thorn	/mi/	man
/CCV/	/kra/	hair	/phya/	forehead
/CCCV/	/skli/	urine	/skyo/	male (adj.)
/CVC/	/gud/	hand	/phoc/	ass
/CCVC/	/pyac/	bird	/stug/	chest
/CCCVVC/	/sgyðl/	lane	/spyug/	extinguish (imp.)
/CCVCC/	/prink/	wet	/stupc/	palm

/CVCC/	/ñums/	behind	/nañc/	a cup, bowl
/VCC/	/onč/	hungry	/ušk/	earlier

In a disyllabic or polysyllabic word a complex interlude can be both, a consonant cluster or a geminate consonant. For instance, from the syllabic point of view there is no difference between /phammo/ defeat and /baspa/ ashes.

There are no diphthongs in this language. Therefore, all syllabic sequences of (C) VV-type are independent syllables having clear cut syllabic boundaries between them ; as in /kui/ dog, /ait/ another, second /khau/ meal, /suig/ red etc.

#### 4.4 Syllabic Division

As in other languages, in Kinnauri too the syllabic division depends, primarily, on preceding and the following environments of the syllable peak. The most distinctive aspects of the syllabic division in it are—juncture or openness of transition and syllabic silence, conditioned by the boundaries of various syllables determined by their structure itself. For instance, in the disyllabic and polysyllabic words like /phindri/ circle, /phammo/ defeat, /chetkañ/ chin, /chanṭe/ clever, /gungyale/ bride, /kwalmig/ to change, /rikcəmya/ two days before yesterday, the syllable cut falls in between the consonant sequences. Occurring as complex interludes between the preceding and succeeding syllables, because the language does not permit -ndr-, -mm-, -tk-, nt-, ngy-, lm-, kc-, and ms- as onset margins of a syllable. In examples like /gun-gya-le/ the first cut does not fall in between -g- and -y- because the language allows the complex onset as -gy-. though not as -ngy-.

### SUPRA SEGMENTAL FEATURES

#### (i) Length

Vowel length in Kinnauri is both phonetic and phonemic. Phonetically any vowel may be longer or shorter to its intrinsic quantity, but phonetically it becomes contrastive feature :

- i/i :— /i/ one (adj.) : /i/ : /ñ/ ask (imp.)  
           /rin/ cubid (measurement) : /ri:n/ credit

- e/e :— /ren/ oath : /re : n/ you sold  
           /gungyale/ bride : /gungyale :/ brides  
 a/a :— /ban/ oak tree : /ba:n/ bell  
           /sa:n/ touch of sticks : /sa:n/ ladder  
 ə/ə :— /dəm/ breath : /də : m/ heap of earth  
 o/o :— /suko/ scorpion : /suko :/ scorpions  
           /zo/ yak : /zo :/ of the yak  
 u/u :— /ʃup/ foam : /ʃu/ : /p/ winnowing basket  
           /ɡindu/ ball : /ɡindu :/ of the ball

## (ii) Nasality

Besides the phonetic nasality, realized in the vicinity of a nasal consonant, Kinnauri has phonemic nasality as well :

/me/ fire	:	/mẽ/ yesterday
/bθʃ/ rope	:	/bãʃ/ bamboo
/rək/ wine	:	/rāk/ heat of the sun
/ə/ the central vowel	:	/ə/ yes

## (iii) Glottalization :

In its glottalization of vowels (here indicated as ?) takes place in two situations, viz. /V/ and /V-C/. In the latter case /-C/ is usually a voiced glottal stop, as in /to ?/ /du ?/ 'he is' /ka ?/ thou /toke ?/ ~ /due ?/ he was ; /niña ?/ we, /mi ?g/ eye, /ʃtu ? g/ chest /ʈa ? k/ barley.

## (iv) Juncture

Occurrence of juncture phone in the sense of "interruption to the normal transition of sound" is normally attested in the form of a slight pause occurring between successive segments of syllables, morphemes or any morphological units. In a normal speech behaviour its occurrence is largely conditioned by the tempo of speech, i.e. it can be distinctly perceived in a slow and cautious speech but usually eliminated in a quick tempo of it. As such in a normal course of speech the presence or the absence of a juncture phone is not significant.

Interruption in transition between speech elements may be very short or imperceptible, termed as 'close' in linguistic terminology, or of some perceptible duration called 'open' or



plus juncture. In terms of degrees of duration, it is higher in open juncture as compared to the close juncture. For, as a principle the characteristic of a juncture, as stated above, is cessation of articulation, for whatever duration it may be, between successive linguistic segments in a speech event, e.g. /khyā-mig/ to see, /'som-si/ dawn, /su-ig/ red, /za-o/ eat (imp.) (Here the cessation has been indicated by a hyphen).

The normal environments for the occurrence of a juncture in Kinnauri are :

- (i) Occurrence of non-homorganic consonants in syllabic sequence,
- (ii) occurrence of a non-plosive + a plosive consonant,
- (iii) occurrence of a consonant + a semiconsonant in a medial cluster,
- (iv) occurrence of a syllable boundary, indicated by occurrence of non-permissible initial or final consonantal codas or consonant clusters, and other criteria of syllabic divisions (see. 4.4),
- (v) occurrence of morpheme boundaries,
- (vi) occurrence of a higher stress on the preceding syllable or of a higher pitch on succeeding syllable.

But juncture, besides its phonetic features, has a phonemic status as well in which its presence or absence becomes quite significant or contrastive. There, however, it is attested in the form of a clear pause between successive meaningful units or groups of units, controlled by their semantic aspects or breath span, e. g. /do + θñ + rθñ—to/ that is my horse, but /do + θñrθñ + to/ he is with me, /michañ/ jealousy ; but /mi + chañ/ the youngone of a human being.

In these instances there is a clear contrast between the close and open junctures indicated by hyphen or a plus sign respectively.

In a longer stretch of speech a juncture, phonemic or non-phonemic, occurring between two meaningful units or words is specified by space in the conventional orthography, but in a linguistic analysis to specify separation of one syllable from the other or one morpheme from other morphemic sequences, it is indicated by a hyphen, put in between them.

Occurrence of a pause juncture in Kinnauri, as in other languages, coincides with the intonation contour or the end of a simple statement.

In compound sentences a pause juncture also serves as a morpheme, viz. a conjunctive particle :

/dɔ kec + gɔ : tuŋc/ he gives (and) I drink.

/dɔ rina + gɔ : upasɔŋ tok/ he said (that) I am hungry

/gɔ byok + dɔ mabyo/ I went (but) he did not go.

#### (v) Stress and Pitch

Kinnauri neither, like English, is a stressed language, nor, like Chinese, a tonal one, since change in stress or pitch pattern on small units of an utterance does not bring about any significant change in the meaning of it, though at the syntactic level variation in pitch patterns may bring about change in the implied meaning of the sentence.

However, both stress and pitch are features of emphasis and prominence in it and also help in creating favourable conditions for the occurrence of internal or open juncture in a polysyllabic word or utterance. For, by virtue of higher stress or pitch rise the stressed or more sonarant syllable or segment is separated from the unstressed syllable or from the syllable or word uttered with a lower pitch. Normally, these features of Kinnauri are conditioned by phonetic, or syllabic environments.

In it, more or less, pitch is a syntactic feature, varying in degrees of loudness, depending upon individual use and the type of loudness induced by intended implications. It may also be pointed out that, although no absolute measurement can be fixed with regard to various degrees of pitch prominence, yet on the basis of relative prominence three degrees of it can be recognized, which can be designated as high, mid and low and also can be represented by 1, 2, 3 respectively. All these pitches can occur initially or finally. Usually in a polysyllabic word the initial syllable has a higher stress and the non-initial a higher pitch. Being non-phonemic these features have an arbitrary character and can occur in free variation within a given utterance, e.g. in /migsɔpu/ 'eyebrow' the initial syllable

may have a higher stress and in /śyalič/ it may have a higher pitch, or prominence.

**(vi) Intonation**

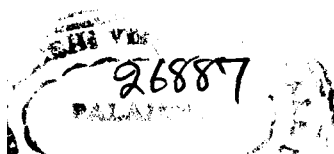
As in other languages, in Kinnauri, too intonation is a syntactic feature, attestable within a phrase structure between two pauses. The distribution of stress, may be for emphasis or prominence, and pitch variations is entirely dependent on the context of the whole sentence, as such no set rules can be given for their permutation and combination. However, rising falling or sustainance of the terminal pitches can be patternized on the basis of syntactic patterns, i.e. it is rising in interrogative or exclamatory sentences and falling in sentences employing a command emphasis, etc.

### III

## MORPHOLOGY AND MORPHOPHONEMICS

### INTRODUCTION

Morphology in terms of linguistic analysis deals with the structure and behaviour of morphemes in a given language. Linguistically, "Morphemes are the smallest individually meaningful elements in the utterance of a language" (Hockett, C. F. 1970 : 123). In the light of the above definition, Kinnauri morphemes may broadly be classified into two groups : root and non-root. Roots enter into further morphological constructions and form a base, while the non-roots do not. The major categories of roots recognizable in it are—substantives, demonstratives, modifiers and verbs. Non-roots have three categories, viz. affixes, post-positions and particles, divisible into further sub-groups, viz. affixes as prefix, suffix and infix, and particles as connectives, emphatics and interjections. Of these, affixes are bound forms, post-positions semibound forms and free forms, but they are neither inflected nor enter into any morphological constructions as the free form of roots do.



## WORD CLASSES AND GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

(1) **Word Defined**

In this analysis a word, the 'minimum free form', has been treated as a basic grammatical unit, though a morpheme, too has been recognized as the minimal unit for a morphological description. In Kinnauri, the phonological features characterising this basic unit are :

- (i) it normally ends in a vowel or a voiced consonant.
- (ii) it never begins with /ŋ/
- (iii) no aspirate consonant occurs at the end of it.
- (iv) no consonant cluster other than those illustrated above (2.13) can begin or end it.
- (v) in a slow tempo of speech it necessarily admits a momentary pause (external open juncture) on either side of it (this feature is attested in polymorphemic words as well).

As such, in Kinnauri, a word may be defined as a sequence of one or more phonemes between two successive junctures, conveying a single concept. Morphologically, the constituents of a word can be a root alone or a root/stem plus one or more affixes, i.e. it is both free and bound. As such it may be a monomorphemic or poly-morphemic. The components of the latter are a free plus a bound form or a bound plus a bound form. The root morphemes may be free or bound, or simple or compound but the suffixal morphemes are always bound. As such a stem may be simple or compound. In the simple structure it is a root alone or a root+one or more affixes, but in the compound structure there are more than one roots+one or more affixes.

There is, however, a class of words composed of more than one wholly free morphemes. These words (viz. compound words) too have been accorded the status of a word on the basis of their uninterrupted and unitary behaviour in utterances.

In Kinnauri, a word can be both variable and invariable. The former type attests ordered and regular series or

grammatically different word forms, viz. paradigms, wherein a part remains relatively constant and variations in other parts and the other shows only one form. Affixes or endings may be paradigmatic or non-paradigmatic, depending on the selection of the stem in question.

## (2) Word Classes

The description of the syntax requires recognition of a number of syntactically defined word classes, correlating more or less with those which must be recognized morphologically. To provide a basis both for morphology and syntax, a system of word classes is set up here as under.

On the basis of their syntactic behaviour supplemented and reinforced by differences of morphological constructions the following formal sets or classes of words have been recognized for Kinnauri. They are : Nouns, personal pronouns, demonstratives, verbs, modifiers and function words. Usually, substantives (nouns and pronouns) and verbs enter into a number of complex morphological constructions which warrant to assign them a separate class to be termed as variable or inflectional, and the rest may be termed as invariable or non-flectional. From among the words belonging to the variable class, substantives can further be divided as animate and inanimate on the basis of their inflectional peculiarities (see 4.1.1.2).

Personal pronouns, though sharing the common characteristics of nouns, occur in contracted forms as personal affixes in verbal forms (see 11.5.5). These form a separate class. Moreover, nouns are inflected for two numbers only but pronouns are inflected for three (see 5.6).

Words of the invariable class, too, can further be classified and sub-classified according to their syntactic as well as semantic functions. The modifiers can be termed as nominal (adjective) and verbal (adverbs) on the basis of their syntactic position and functions in a phrase. Adjectives may further be classified as demonstratives, qualitatives, quantitatives, numeral, interrogative etc. Similarly, adverbs, mostly constituting function words, can be designated as negators, intensifiers, expletives, interrogators, classifiers, subordinators, connectors (conjunctions), attention signals (interjections), response words (yes, no) etc.

From the point of their membership, the words of noun and verb class belong to the open class, admitting words from other languages, and others to the class which do not admit words from other languages. Words belonging to the latter class are both free and bound, i.e. in them some of function words, designated as post-positions, are always bound with certain inflected forms of nouns, and some of the particles and connectors are conditioned with phrases and clauses.

Of all the word classes that enter into morphological constructions, verbs are the most important from the point of view of their complexity as well as the central position they occupy in an utterance. These have been discussed in detail in the relevant section (see Ch. 11).

The morphological processes employed for various morphological words are : juxtaposition, infixation, prefixation, suffixation, reduplication, compounding, internal change and replacement. Of these suffixation is the most commonly employed process. This will be illustrated in respect of noun stem formations, nominal/pronominal inflections and verbal formations.

### (3) Grammatical Categories

Grammatical categories, showing formal relationship between words and word groups or exhibiting syntactic inter-word relations are many in this language. Some of them are confined to a particular word class and others have their jurisdiction to more than one class. In most of the variable words their syntactic relationship is normally marked by specific morphological forms. The most important of these are—number, person, case, gender, tense, aspect, mood and voice. Their forms and functions will be discussed in their respective contexts.

### (4) Concord in Grammatical Categories

The syntactic control of various grammatical categories exercised over variable word forms has been designated as concord or agreement, i.e. the forms of two or more words of specific word classes, that stand in a specific syntactic relationship with one another, shall be characterised by the same paradigmatically marked category or categories (Robins, R.H.

1973 : 235). Being a flectional language, Kinnauri exhibits considerable amount of these concords in various grammatical categories.

In a verb phrase the verbal form normally shows an agreement in person and number with its subject, but in a noun phrase no such a concord is attested between the head and the attribute, except in pronominal attributes in which it shows an agreement in number.

### 3.5 MORPHOPHONEMICS

#### (1) Morphophonemic Adjustments

When, in the process of stem formations or nominal/verbal inflections various morphological elements or morphs come together usually various types of morphophonemic adjustments or changes take place. It is an important aspect of the descriptive analysis of a language. It reflects the relationship of the phonemic structure of the language to its grammatical structure.

#### (2) Kinds of Morphophonemic Alternations

All the morphophonemic patterns of a language can broadly be grouped as—(a) automatic alternations, (b) non-automatic alternations, and (c) free variants. From among these the automatic alternations may be said as phonologically conditioned alternations and the non-automatic alternations as morphologically conditioned and lexically conditioned alternations.

The symbolic presentation of the morphophonemic will be as follows : '/' means 'or' ; + means 'followed by' ; → 'is rewritten as' : ~ 'in free variation with'.

#### (3) Phonologically Conditioned Alternations

Although in unwritten and uncultivated languages it is difficult to carry through a perfectly systematic codification of all the rules of euphonic combinations and morphological alternations or free variations, yet an attempt has been made below to present some of them under different heads according to the nature of different morphophonemic changes. In many cases these may overlap and interact one another too.



(i) *Automatic glidization* : Certain classes of vowels occurring in juxtaposition are realized with an automatic non-phonemic glide. The front glide [y] occurs in a sequence of a front+back vowel and the back glide [w] in the environment of back (rounded)+back (unrounded) vowel.

- i + o → yo : /io/ → /iyo/ asked  
                   /bio/ → /byo/ went.  
 i + a → ya : /hətiā/ → /hətiyā/ whosoever  
 i + u → yu : /biu/ → /byu/ go (imp. non hon.)  
                   /kuiu/ → /kuyu/ of the dog.  
 a + a → ya : /bəda + a/ → /bədaya/ has he come ?  
 e + a → ya : /zac-ea/ → /zacya/ eater  
                   /zamig-šea/ → /zamikšya/ edible  
 u + a → wa : /thua/ → /thwa/ up, above  
                   /dua/ → /dwa/ near, with  
                   as in /dwakc/ of near from

(ii) *Devoicing* : A predictable environment for the phenomenon of devoicing of a voiced stop is its occurrence before an unvoiced consonant or in a pre-pausal position.

- Vd + Vl → Vl : /tegšya/ → /tekšya/ big one  
                   /zamigšya/ → /zamikšya/ edible  
                   /krabsid/ → /krapsid/ wept  
                   /zamig/ → /zamik/ to eat  
                   /həð ~ chəðd/ → /hət ~ chət/ what ?  
                   /hacid/ → /hacit/ becomes  
                   /dug/ → /duk/ was

(iii) *Voicing* : The phenomenon of voice is attested in the environment of Vl + Vd.

- Vl + Vd → Vd : /had duge/ who was he ? < /hət/

(iv) *Assimilation* : A typical case of assimilation is attested in the past tense forms of the verb /bənnig/ to come and /wənnig/ to laugh.

- /bədo du/ → /bətту/ he (non. hon.) came, was coming  
 /bəd duš/ → /bətтуš/ he (hon.)       "       "       "  
 /wəd to/ → /wətto/ he was laughing.

(In the former examples the aux. may be /to-/ instead of -/du-/).

Frequent assimilation of nasals ( $n + m$ ) is, however, attested when a stem final *-n* is followed by a suffix initial *-m* : /pan-mu/ → /pannu/ to cook, for cooking.

/hun-mu/ → /hunnu/ to teach, for teaching.

/šan-mig/ → /šannig/ to kill.

(v) *Deaspiration* : In the absence of occurrence of aspirate sounds in a word final or stem final position there is hardly any case of deaspiration in it.

(vi) *Elision of final vowel* : In a quick tempo of speech the vowel /u/ of the genitive suffix and of infinitive suffix tends to be elided completely before certain postpositions or before the second member of a verb compound.

/niñanu da/ → /niñonda/ with us, in our possession

/teg ateu da/ tegateda/ with elder brother/ possession

/dou balu den barðñ dug/ → /-balden/

There was load on his head.

/bimu-šeñ/ → /bimsen ~/ you (hon.) let him go.

/bimu-še-cis/ → /bimšecis/ please let me go.

/khyamu byoto/ → /khyam byoto/ he may go to see.

/bðnimu pðto/ → /bðnimpðto/ will have to come.

(vii) *Elision of stem final consonant* : A stem final /-n/ tends to be elided in the following environments :

- (i) before present tense suffix /-c/ : /bðc/ comes < /bðnnig/ to come, /wðc/ laughs < /wðnnig/ to laugh
- (ii) before past formative /-da/, /bðdo/ came < /bðnning/ to come /šeda/ sent < /šenning/ to send, /pida/ closed.
- (iii) before past marker /-sid/ : /rðsid/ sold, /rasid/ did, /šasid/ killed.
- (iv) before imperative marker : /pid/ close, /ket/ give.

#### (4) Morphologically Conditioned Alternants

The alternations of this class are non-automatic and are primarily conditioned by their morphological environments. The number of these alternants may be fairly large, but here we shall take up only a few of them. Alternants of allomorphic nature will be discussed in their respective contexts.

(i) *Euphonic Vowels* : A euphonic vowel or a linking vowel takes place in morphological constructions in which a stem ending in a consonant is followed by a suffix with an initial consonant.

/yðg — ka/ → /yðgika/	may I sleep ?
/yðg — ca/ → /yðgica/	may we sleep ?
/lðn — ka/ → /lðnika/	may I work ?
/lðn — ñ / → /lðniñ/	please do.

(ii) *Ablaut* : Vocalic modification in a stem vowel is a very common phenomenon of morphological alternations, e.g., nominal stems ending in *-i* modify it to *-e* before direct plural suffix, viz. zero.

/kui/ dog :	/kue/ dogs.
/kukri/ hen :	/kukre/ hens.

(iii) *Suppletivism* : There are many cases of pronominal and verbal inflections in which alternation or replacement of the root or stem takes place for certain temporal or non-temporal categories of a verb and for certain cases and numbers of a pronoun. For instance, the verb substantive has different bases for the future and non-future tenses (see 11.6). Similarly, the verb stem /bɛn-/ is supplemented by the stem /zen-/ for the imperative mood. (see 11.13.4). Pronominal stems of 1st and 2nd person are supplemented by more than one stem for certain cases and numbers (see 5.5).

(iv) *Morphophonemic changes conditioned by negative particle /ma/* : Employment of the negative particle /ma/ brings about a tremendous change in the form of a verbal construction in the future tense (for examples and other details see 11.11).

(v) *Morphophonemic adjustments in Numerals* : The numeral system in Kinnauri attests a number of alternants in its numerals when they enter into the morphological process of compounding with other members for the construction of higher numbers. These have been discussed in detail in the relevant chapter and may be seen there (see 10.1).

**(5) Morpho-semantically Conditioned Alternations**

There are a number of semantically conditioned morphological alternations of verbal stems too in Kinnauri. The most notable of them is use of different verbal stems with different pronominal objects, e.g. there are two roots, viz. /ke-/ and /rðn-/ to convey the sense of 'give', out of these former is used with 1st and 2nd person pronominal objects and the latter with 3rd person objects : /gðkinu kec/ I give you ; but /gðdopðñ rðnc/ I give him. Similar is the case of /lon-/ and /rin-/ to say.

## IV

### NOUN

#### NOUN DEFINED

A noun in Kinnauri can be defined as that class of word which syntactically functions as a subject or an object of a finite verb, and can take number and case suffixes with assigned gender, and also can be followed by postpositions.

(1) *Noun Classes* : Like Mundari, in Kinnauri too, nouns have two broad subclasses which are correlated with gender markers. They are animate and inanimate, of which the former is further divisible into human and non-human beings. The criteria for setting up these two sub-classes are as under :

(a) *Animate Nouns* : Nouns belonging to this class can be inflected for all numbers and cases, except the locative case.

(b) *Inanimate Nouns* : Inanimate nouns do not generally take suffixes for plural number and are not marked in the verbal phrase. They are, however, inflected for locative case. In ablative case, too, these follow a different base and take a different post-position ; i.e. in ablative case animate nouns follow a genitive base and take the post position /dwakč/

~ /dokč/, but inanimate nouns follow a locative base and take the suffix / -c/ only.

## NOUN STEM AND ITS KINDS

In Kinnuari, three kinds of noun stems, viz. primary, derived and compounds, are attested. In general, in the languages of this group, most of the nominal stems are primary ones. However, there is a sizeable section of derived and compound stems as well.

(1) **Primary Stems** : A primary stem may be simple or complex. A simple stem consists of one morpheme and is usually monosyllabic, but a complex stem is composed of a root plus a suffix, having no special meaning to convey separately. The potential sources of the latter type of stems are verbal, adjectival or nominal stems. Like derived stems, the final component of these stems is a bound form.

In Kinnauri, the stock of primary stems is a composite one, i.e. it belongs to different linguistic groups, viz. Austro-Asiatic, Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Aryan. Consequently, different formative processes are followed in it.

Primary stems belonging to Tibetan sources are invariably monosyllabic : /mi/ man, /me/ fire, /mig/ eye, /rib/ rib, /gud/ hand, /bañ/ leg, /lañ/ cow, /lčn/ air, /pya/ bird, /rðñ/ horse, /kim/ house, /rim/ field, /rðg/ stone, /kra/ hair, /ša/ meat, /mar/ butter, etc.

But the primary stems from Indo-Aryan and Austro-Asiatic sources are both mono-syllabic as well as polysyllabic : /šu/ god, /garðñ/ river, /kherðñ/ milk, /piši/ cat, /ama/ mother, /pištñ/ back, /soñðñ/ beak, /rikha/ a bear, /polac/ blood, /tħro/ charcoal, /somsī/ dawn, /ti/ water, /u:/ flower, /goldðs/ vulture, /le/ tongue, /bakhðlðñ/ thick, etc.

## STEM FORMATION

### (1) **Primary Complex Stems**

These are mostly of Indo-Aryan origin. The mechanism of formation of these stems is to suffix a non-formative, naturalizing element to them. The resultant form in nominal inflection

is treated as simple primary stem to which are added the number case inflectional suffixes. For the purpose of naturalization these stems have been classified into two groups, viz. animate and inanimate. The affixes of these groups may be illustrated as under :

(i) *Suffixes of Animate Group* : Animate nouns belonging to the I.A. stock take /-s/ as a naturalizing suffix : /corəs/ thief, /səpəs/ snake, /bandərs/ monkey, /tiskərs/ thirsty, /pujarəs/ priest, etc. It has a few exceptions as well, e.g. /duməs/ smoke.

(ii) *Suffixes of Inanimate group* : The naturalizing suffixes added to inanimate nouns are /əñ~iñ/. There the choice of one or the other suffix is lexically conditioned. The examples are :

- (i) /-əñ/ — /dəəñ/ body, /harəñ/ bone, /kaməñ/ work, /teləñ/ oil, /pəkhəñ/ wing, /kasəñ/ bronze, /kucəñ/ broom, /kanəñ/ ear, /dakhəñ/ grapes, /dəməñ/ a man from iron smith caste (treated with inanimate objects on account of his low caste).
- (ii) /-iñ/ — /ratīñ/ night, /šanliñ/ chain, /mañiñ/ clay, /doiñ/ curd, /kuñiñ/ hut, /balin/ sand.

In the case of these naturalizing suffixes it may be noted that in nominal inflections the animate marker /-s/ is dropped before the number-case suffixes in the plural number of the direct case and in other cases it follows the normal pattern : /corəs/ thief ; /cora/ thieves (direct pl.), but /corəsu/ to a thief (gen.) /corəspəñ/ to a thief ; /corəsuna/ to thieves, /corəsu-dwakč/ from a thief, etc.

But in case of inanimate objects the naturalizing suffix remains intact, and the number case suffixes are appended to it. /pəkhəñ/ wing (sg.) /pəkhəña/ wings (pl.); /šanliñ/ chain, /šanliña/ chains, /šanliñu/ of a chain, etc.

(iii) *Adjectives as Noun stems* : In Kinnauri most of the adjective stems can be used as noun stems in their primary forms : /moṭhəs/ fat, /ləməs/ tall, /bakhəliñ/ thick, /sukhəñ/ easiness, easy, /mari/ cleanliness, clean etc.

## (2) Derived Noun Stems

Derived noun stems are the resultant forms of a derivational suffix added to a nominal or verbal stem. As such they are basically polymorphemic and polysyllabic in nature. In these the root morpheme is, mostly, a free form, but the suffixal morpheme is invariably a bound one and ultimately both of them serve as a base for the use of other grammatical categories, in the same manner as is done in the case of a primary stem. The constituents of these stems may be grouped as under :

### (1) *Noun/Adjectives Stem + Derivational Suffix*

(i) /-č/. It is a very productive suffix in Kinnauri. Basically, it is a diminutive suffix and can be affixed to all nominal, verbal, or adjectival stems, irrespective of their gender. In case of inanimate nouns it indicates the size difference, and in the case of animate nouns and verbal nouns it indicates age or generation difference (denoting younger generation or younger in age). This can be illustrated as under :

*Inanimate Object* : /šyalič/ fox, /talič/ key, /bačič/ a cup, /paṭhuč/ pitcher, /ḍanič/ hill, /phädč/ a bag, /rägč/ small stone (all indicating a smaller size of the object in question, absence of /-č/ indicate the bigger size of them).

*Animate Object* : /gaṭoč/ younger, /amač/ mother's sister, /chañč/ child, /buač/ younger father, uncle, /boreč/ husband's younger brother, /tuñzyač/ an aged drinker (m), /tuñzec/ an aged drinker (f.), /nakič/ lean, weak, /pyač/ bird, /ḍekhraè/ boy, /checač/ girl, /phoč/ donkey <pho 'wild animal' + č small = small wild animal, /naneč/ father's sister (lit. younger grand mother).

(ii) /-ñe/ — It is used with reference to days :

/pəñe/ 4th day, /kroñe/ 7th day.

(iii) /-liñ/ — It is used with reference to year.

/noliñ/ last year, /toliñ/ next year/

(iv) /no/ — Added to nominal stems : /nidraño/ slumberous, sleepy.

(v) /ya/ — added to compound nominal stems, to indicate the shape or possession :



/pəzðrya/ < -pə/ 'four' + /zðr/ 'corner' + /-ya/ 'having' = having four corners = square.

/šumzðrya/ = /šum/ 'three' + /zðr/ 'corner' + /-ya/ = having three corners = triangular.

It is also used to derive nouns of agency /grokcyā/ an oracle teller. (for more examples see under C-11).

(vi) /šya/ — It is added to cardinal numbers to make them ordinals : /omšya/ first, /šumšya/ third.

It is also used to derive noun indicating the sense of belongingness or noun of agency :

/dešðñšya/ a villager, /tuñšya/ thirsty :

(for more examples see gender C.i).

It is also used to derive noun of action, e.g. /lənšya/ doer < /lənmiḡ/ to do, /byañšya/ coward < /bian/ fear, /gəstəḡkšya/ weaver, < /tagmu/ to weave ; /rəñšya/ doner, < /rənmig/ to give /kərtšya/ teller, /zali rənzya/ liar.

(vii) /-pa/ — It indicates belongingness to a place :

/rogpa/ a man from the village named Roge.

/ropa/ a man from the village named Ropang.

(viii) /-ko/ — It is added to verbal stems to form the nouns indicative of direction of rising and setting of the sun :

/zerko/ eat < /zer/ to be born.

/redko/ west < /red/- to set.

### (3) Compound Stems

Compounds, both nominal and verbal are very much a part of Kinnauri linguistic structure. The mechanism of verbal compounds will be discussed while analysing the verb phrases of it. Constituents of a nominal compound stem are nominal and adjectival stems (free forms), conveying a consolidated or copulative meaning. These are treated as primary stems for the purpose of nominal inflection. The various types of compound stems are formed as under :

#### (a) *Noun + Noun = Noun*

/migs/ eye + /ti/ water > /migsti/ tears.

/dus/ heat + /ti/ water > /dusti/ perspiration.

/bəʒ/ joint + /bañ/ leg > /bəʒbañ/ knee.

/mig/ eye + /spu/ hair on the body > /migspu/ eyebrow, lashes.

/loc/ work + /mi/ man > /locmi/ labourer

/tur/ darkness + /pyac/ bird > /turpya/ bat

/šu/ god + /pyac/ bird > /šupyac/ butterfly

/šu/ god + /mčš/ blackgram > /šumθš/ a kind of gram

/šupa/ evening + /khau/ meals > /šupakhau/ dinner

/me/ fire + /hōñ/ worm > /mehōñ/ glow worm

/chos/ religion + /pothi/ book > /chospothi/ religious book

/šin/ wood + /koŋo/ stack > /šinŋkoŋo/ wooden stack

/byañ/ Tibet + /khər/ sheep > -byañkhər/ Tibetan sheep.

/ti/ water + /sam/ ? /tisom/ leech.

/ti/ water + /plot/ ~ /sprokc/ jump > /tiplot/ frog

/stakuc/ nose + /ti/ water > /stəmti/ mucus from nose

/ra/ blue + /ti/ water > /rati/ buttermilk

/laləñ/ saliva + /ti/ water > /laləñti/ saliva

/me/ fire + /šin/ wood > /mešin/ matchstick

**(b) Adjective + Noun = Noun**

/rok/ black + /mig/ eye > /rokmig/ eyeball

/bəš/ big + /yəñ/ fly > /bəšyəñ/ bee

/ko/ bad + /chan/ boy > /kochan/ badman

/bəñ/ full + /golšəñ/ > moon /bəñgolšəñ/ full moon

/məzəñ/ middle + /lahe/ day > /məzəñlahe/ midday, noon.

/bi/ second + /ama/ mother > /biama/ step mother.

/ši/ dead + /mi/ man > /šimi/ corpse

/bok/ hot + /ti/ water > /bokti/ hot water

**c) Noun + Verb = Noun**

/bhun/ earth + /culing/ movement = /bunculing/ earthquake

/šin/ wood + /thoñ/ to peck = /šithong/ woodpecker

/sem/ soul + /ced/ to be = /semced/ animate

/gol/ month + /šəñ/ start = /golsəñ/ moon

**d) Verb + Noun = Noun**

/ši/ dead + /mi/ man = /šimi/ corpse

/chal/ wash + /ti/ water = /chalti/ white-wash

/zer/ to be born + /ko/ direction = /zerko/ east

/red/ to set + /ko/ direction = /redko/ west

(e) *Numeral + Numeral = Numeral*

/sE/ ten + /id/ one = /sahid/ eleven

/sE/ ten + /ʒum/ three = /sorum/ thirteen

/nis/ two + /sa/ ten = /niza/ twenty

(for more examples see 10.1)

(4) *Compound Stems Conveying a Copulative Sense*

Besides the above mentioned types of compound stems, there are compound stems of nouns that have copulative constructions of the nature of having a coordinative conjunction. The number of the constituent members of these compound stems is, however, limited to two only. In such constructions, too, like others, the inflectional markers are affixed to the second member of the components.

/krabsin-məlsin/ weeping and crying,

/gud-baŋ/ hands and feet, /phul-pholəŋ/ fruits, etc., /sal-somo/ agricultural prosperity, /kimo-perəŋ/ house hold, children, etc. /bok-bok/ oven fresh (hot ones), /gasan-gwanəŋ/ clothes, etc. /ama-bua/ parents, /ru-yumet/ parents-in-law, /gone-dace/ couple = husband and wife, /dam-kocaŋ/ good-bad, joy-sorrow, /nes-to/ exchange.

(5) *Reduplicated Compound Stems*

Reduplication of nominal stems and formation of echo-words to indicate a general sense of things involved is also not unknown to the languages of this group. Reduplication may be partial or complete. Mostly it is partial in which the vowel of the initial syllable of the reduplicated stem undergoes morpho-phonemic change. Moreover, the compounding of identical or quasi-identical stems may be without a linking element or with one. These formations may be illustrated as under :

(A) *Complete Reduplication without a Linking Element*

/kim-kim/ every house, /dyaro-dyaro/ everyday, always, /mi-mi/ every man, /dəm-dəm/ good ones, very good, /θog-θog/ very white, whitest, /toŋo/ ill, /cis-cis/ rotten, /yəl-yəl/ tired.

(B) *Partial Reduplication without a Linking Element*

In this class of reduplicated stems, though there no linking

sound is necessary there, yet internal changes, either replacement of the initial component or of the vowel in the first syllable, do take place. Vocalic changes of the following nature are usually attested :

/i→ə~ä/ : /mi-ma/ human being etcetra, /rima-rəmo/ field, etc. /migo-məgo/ eye or similar things, /kimo-kəmo/ home or similar things.

/e→a/ : /ze-za/ sheep etc.

/a→u/ : /baño-buño/ leg, etc. /batəñ-butəñ/ idle talks.

/u→ə/ : /gudo-gədo/ hand, etc.

/c→p/ : /coṭom-poṭom/ quickly, etc., in a hurry.

/kh→p/ : /khəu-pəu/ food etc.

### (C) Reduplication with a Linking Sound

(i) /-a/ : In onomatopoeic words :

/gud-a-gud/ beating in which slaps are freely exchanged.

/dum-a-dum/ beating the land with pressure kicks.

(ii) /si.....s/ : /sponosi-sponos/ beating with shoes,

/ləthənsi-ləthəns/ fighting with kicks.

(iii) /-o/ : /krabo-krobo/ continuously weeping.

## NOMINAL INFLECTION

The variable class of nouns is inflected for number, gender and case, each of them having its own sub-divisions and following its own mechanism of inflection. Details of which are being presented in the following relevant sections.

## V

# NUMBER

### NUMBER CATEGORY

The number category is primarily attested with nouns, pronouns, verbs and pronominal adjectives. In nouns and pronouns it is tied up with case category and in verbs with person, number, tense and aspect categories. There are, however, some nouns and pronouns which are inflected for a particular number only.

In nominal stems there are only two morphologically marked numbers in standard Kinnauri, Dual, if desirable, is indicated by prefixing the term for 'two', viz. /nis/. In a colloquial speech the plurality, too, is not marked overtly if it is clear from the context, e.g.

/šum mi/ three persons, /ña boṭhðñ/ five trees, /šum minu/ of/for three men, /čei pyac/ all birds. /muluk kim/ many houses, etc.

/doganu bio bio muluk dyar hacis/  
them to having gone many day become  
many days have passed since they went.

The pronominal stems are, however, inflected for all the three numbers, viz. singular, dual and plural.

## 5.2. NUMBER MARKERS

In all the cases singular number is left unmarked or it has only a zero morpheme. In nominal stems plurality is marked by affixing a plural marker to the stem, but it is left unmarked if the noun head is preceded by a numeral other than 'one' or by a quantifier meaning 'many'; 'all', 'some' etc.

## 5.3. SUFFIXAL PLURALITY

Suffixal type of plurality is expressed by suffixing one of the alternates of the plural marker. In Kinnauri, these are : /ga~ge~,go~a~e~na~ña~ñ, and their distribution is as below :

(a) /ga/ It is suffixed to the direct sg. of vowel ending stems, except a few exceptions :

	Sg.		Pl.
/mi/	man	/miga/	men
/piši/	cat	/pišiga/	cats
/ruza/	old man	/ruzaga/	old men
/yðñze/	old woman	/yðñgega/	old women
/kano/	one eyed man	/kanoga/	one eyed men
/kane/	one eyed woman	/kanega/	one eyed women
/nane/	maternal aunt	/nanega/	maternal aunts

Exceptions to this rule are /kue/ 'dogs' < /kui/ 'dog'; /kukre/ 'hens' < /kukri/ 'hen' (optionally *kukrega* as well).

(b) /ge/- It is attested, sporadically, after nouns ending in the velar nasal, preceded by /ɔ/ in direct singular, as in /lɔŋge/ 'nose screws' from /lɔŋ/ 'nose screw'; /hɔŋge~hɔña/ 'worms' from /hɔŋ/ 'worm'.

(c) /go/ It is a free variant of /ga/ attested with a couple of pronominal stems only, as in /zugo/~nugo/ 'they' from /zu/~nu/ he, /dogo/ 'those' from /do/ 'that'. The suffix go/ is, however, a regular plural marker in the Sangla variety of Kinnauri.

(d) /a/ It is suffixed to all direct sg. forms, ending in a consonant :

Sg.		Pl.	
/rañ/	horse	/raña/	horses
/thâr/	lion	/thâra/	lions
/chañ/	boy	/chaña/	boys
/gud/	hand	/guda/	hands
/mig/	eye	/miga/	eyes
/bañ/	leg	/baña/	legs
/rðg/	stone	/rðga/	stones
/rim/	field	/rima/	fields
/ððldis/	poor man	/ððldisa/	poor men

However, in stems ending in /-ðs/, mostly belonging to Indo-Aryan stock, the naturalizing element, /-ðs/, is dropped before suffixing /a/ to the direct singular form of the noun.

Sg.		Pl.	
/corðs/	thief	/cora/	thieves
/damðs/	bull	/dama/	bulls
/bðndârðs/	monkey	/bðndâra/	monkeys
/pujarðs/	temple priest	/pujara/	temple priests
/ðekhrðs/	lad	/ðekhra/	lads

In the Sangla variety /o/ is the normal plural marker in the above environments.

(e) /e/: The allomorph /e/ is attested in a few sporadic examples only, as in /kue/ dogs from /kui/dog, /hðte/ who (pl.) from /hðt/ who ? (sg), /rote/ native loaves (sg. and pl.), /kitabe/ books from /kitab/ book, /dukane/ shops, /khðsnige/ a Khasa women from /khðsnig/, /konkone/ ants (sg. and pl.).

(f) /na/: The plural marker /na/ is attested only in polite forms of the second person pronoun, as in /kina/ you (pl.) from /ki/ you (sg), /kinanu/ to you (pl.) from /kinu/ to you (sg.) /sðmudrðñona mðcchadu/ 'there are fishes in rivers,' but /sðmudrðño mðcchðs du/ 'There is a fish in the river'.

In fact, /na/ is a locative suffix, but in the above usage the plurality is indicated by it alone.

(g) /ña/: The plural marker /ña/ is attested with first person pronoun forms only, as in /niña/ 'we' (exclusive) /kasaña/ 'we' (inclusive).

(h) /φ/ : There is a small class of words which is not inflected for any number. This belongs to words denoting unique objects such as /ti/ water, /me/ fire, /yume/ the sun, /golšəṇ/ the moon, /sərgəṇ/ sky, /chwa/ grain, etc.

(i) /:/ : In stems ending in a rounded back vowels the plurality of the noun is expressed by extra length of the vowel itself, as in /gindu: /balls from /gindu/ ball.

#### 5.4. NOUNS OF INCOMPLETE FLECTION

Normally, as stated above, nominal stems in Kinnauri are not inflected for dual and plural numbers if preceded by a numeral modifier. But there are certain classes of words which are never inflected for non-singular numbers. Notable among these are : words denoting objects of natural phenomena, such as day, night, rain, water, river, cloud, lightening etc. unique objects such as the moon, the sun, the earth and denoting metallic and other material objects such as gold, silver, iron, copper, butter, milk, oil, turmeric, salt, chillies, etc. Besides, proper nouns and abstract nouns, too, are not inflected for non-singular numbers.

#### 5.5. SUPPLETIVISM

The phenomenon of suppletivism is attested in the forms of first person pronoun. There the direct singular form is /gə/ 'I' but the dual forms are /niši~kasaṇ/ 'we' (two) and the plural, /niṇaṇkasaṇa/ 'we' (pl.). In these the former forms are 'exclusive' and the latter 'inclusive'.

#### 5.6. PRONOMINAL DUAL

All pronominal stems are invariably inflected for dual number as well. It is regularly formed by adding /niš/ṇ/si/ or its allomorph /ni/ṇ/saṇ/ or /gsuṇ/ or its allomorph /suṇ/ to the pronominal stems. The former set is added to personal pronominal stems and the latter to demonstrative and interrogative stems.



Sg.		dual		Pl.	
gə	'I'	niši	'we two'	niña	'we' (excl.)
"		kasañ		kasaña	„ (incl.)
kə	thou	kənis	'you two'	kəniga	'you' (pl.)
ki	you (hon.)	kiši	(hon.)	kina	(hon.)
zu/nu	'this'	zuniš	these two	zugo	these (pl.)
do	'that	dogsun	these two	dogo	those (pl.)
hət	who	hətesun	who(du)	həte	who (pl.)

In standard Kinnauri forms like, /doniš, nuniš, zuniš/ are also attested.

### 5.7. INDEFINITE MARKER

There is no regular indefinite marker in Kinnauri. In narrative statements it is, however, indicated by /id~i/ 'one', as in /i-mi toco, hədo'/č rañ due/there was a man, he had a horse'.

In the Sangla and Nichar variety of it, some nominal and all pronominal stems are regularly inflected for dual number as well ; e.g. /riñz/ sister : /riñzsun/ two sisters, /riñzo/ sisters (pl.) ; /rañ/ horse : /rañsun/ two horses, /raña/ horses (pl.) /piši/cat, /pišisun/two cats, /pišiga/ cats (pl.) ; /do/ he, /dogsun/ they two, /dogo/ they (pl.).

It seems that these are the relics of the three number system which, perhaps, was regular morphological feature in Kinnauri in the past.

## VI

### GENDER

Like Munda and many other Tibeto-Himalyan languages, Kinnauri has no grammatical gender to be distinguished by suffixal morphemes.

From the point of gender all substantives are divided into the classes of animate and inanimate. Animates are further divided into human and non-human classes. The inanimate class has no gender distinction, whatsoever, but the animate class distinguishes it in three ways, which may be presented as under :

#### 6.1. DISTINCTIVE TERMS

In case of human animate beings their natural gender is distinguished by using different terms for the male and female species :

<i>Masculine</i>		<i>Feminine</i>	
/mi/	man	/checa/	woman
/chan/	boy	/checac/	girl
/chan/	son	/cimed/	daughter
/bowa/	father	/ama/	mother
/muma/	maternal uncle	/nane/	maternal aunt

/tete/	grand father	/api/	grand mother
/ru/	father-in law	/yume/	mother-in-law
/ate/	elder brother	/bore/	brother's wife
/baic/ate/	brother	/daoc/baic/	sister
/sakpo/	wife's brother	/bEsa/boesa/	wife's sister
/ruza/	old man	/yðñze/	old woman

But, besides the human beings, this type of distinction is attested in a few cases of non-human beings as well. For instance, /damās/ bull, /lañ/ cow, /rðč/ male calf of a cow, /khrðč/ female calf of a cow, /phač/ sheep (f.), /phðs/ sheep (m.).

## 6.2. PREFIXAL SYSTEM

In Kinnauri, all non-human animate nouns, except a few, are common nouns. But in case of a necessity of specification the natural gender of a non-human animate being can be indicated by prefixing /skyo/ 'male' and /mðnt/ 'female' corresponding to English 'he' and 'she' to the genderless common form of the substantive.

/skyorāñ/	horse	/mðnt rðñ/	mare
/skyo kui/	dog	/mðnt kui/	bitch
/skyo thðr/	lion	/mðnt thðr/	lioness
/skyo piši/	male cat	/mðnt piši/	female cat
/skyo pyač/	he bird	/mðnt pyač/	she bird

In this pattern the unqualified genderless term, normally, denotes the male member of the species. The term /mðnt/ is prefixed only when the specification of the female member is necessary. Moreover, there is no need of either specificatory term if the gender is clear from the context.

But in case of common nouns standing for human beings the specificatory prefixed to be used with them are, /ðekhrac/ 'boy' and /checac/ 'girl', e.g. /ðekhracpač/ grandson, /checacpač/ grand daughter. /pač/ or /spač/ is a common term for 'grand children'.

## 6.3. SUFFIXAL SYSTEM

The application of this system is confined to animate human beings only. It has as many as seven pairs ;

(i)	šya	(masc.)	:	še	(fem.)
(ii)	zya	„	:	ze	„
(iii)	cya	„	:	ce	„
(iv)	—o	„	:	e	„
(v)	—a	„	:	e~φ	„
(vi)	a	„	:	i	„
(vii)	gya	„	:	ge	„

These alternations may be illustrated as below :

- (i) -/šya : še/ : It expresses the sense of 'belonging to—' or 'being' (=Hindi *wala*), added to nominal or adjectival stems.

/dešðňšya/	a villager (m.) :	/dešðňše/	a villager (f.)
/tegšya/	bigger, elder (m.) :	/tegše/	elder (f.)
/tuňšya/	thirsty (m.) :	/tuňše/	thirsty (f.)
/marišya/	bald (m.) :	/mariše/	bald (f.)

This suffix also serves as a differentiative adjective :

/čň gaťošya baic kimo i nito, tegše dčc rimō to/my younger one brother is at home (and) the elder one sister is in the field.

/ðň gaťošya baic zeh rokc to/  
my younger one sister grazes the sheep

- (ii) /zya : zye/~cya : ce/ : These are affixed to verbal stems to form a noun of action.

/zazy~zacya/	eater (m.) :	/zaze~zace/	eater (f.)
/gyokcya/	an oracle teller (m.) :	/grocce/	an oracle teller (f.)

- (iii) /ya : ye/ These are suffixed to past participial bases to form a noun/adj.

/toňsidya/	a quarrelsome (m.) :	/tonsidyē/	a quarrelsome (f.)
/uncidya/	a begger (m.) :	/uncidyē/	a begger (f.)

- (iv) /o : e/ This pair is applicable to adjectival stems :

/šyaro/	lovely, beautiful (m.) :	/šyare/	lovely (f.)
/kano/	one eyed (m.) :	/kane/	one eyed (f.)
/mðprenno/	miser (m.) :	/mðprenne/	miser (f.)

- (v) /ðñ~ðs : nig/ : It is a caste oriented suffix :  
 /ðomðñ/ a male of an iron-smith caste  
 /ðomðnig/ a woman of ironsmith caste.  
 /ores/ a male of the carpenter caste  
 /orenig/ a woman of carpenter caste  
 /raksðs/ a demon : /raksonig/ a demoness  
 /khošiya/ a male Kanet : /khosðnig/ a female Kanet.
- (vi) /φ~pa : -mec/ : It is attested with adjectival stems derived from nominal stems, to express the sense of belonging to a particular land or place :  
 /yam/ a Tibetan (m.) : /yamec/ a Tibetan (f.)  
 /rogpa/ a male from Roge : /rogmec/ a woman from that place.
- (vii) There are many loan words from the Indo-Aryan stock in which the gender pattern conforms to the pattern of the language from which they have been borrowed :  
 /kukhra/ cock : /kukhri/hen  
 /bðnja/ sister's son : /bðnji/ sister's daughter

#### 6.4. GENDER OF INANIMATE NOUNS

In the absence of grammatical gender all inanimate objects are genderless.

It may also be pointed out here that gender distinction is confined to the substantives of animate class only. As such verb forms in Kinnauri do not attest any kind of gender distinction cf.

/sita i rajo cimed toč/

Sita was the daughter of a king.

/ram candra i rajo chañ toč/

Ram Chandra was the son of a king.

## VII

### CASE

#### 7.1. CASE CATEGORY

Case is a grammatical category which is established on two counts, (1) syntactic correlation between the substantives and the verb, and (2) between two substantives in a syntactic unit (applicable to genitive case only). Morpho-semantically the following types of syntactic correlations, expressable by means of case suffixes (affixed to bare stems of substantives) or by means of post-positions which follow specific inflected bases of nominal and pronominal stems, have been established.<sup>1</sup>

In Kinnauri, all substantives are inflected for the above noted casual relations and numbers. In some cases the case suffixes are tied up with number suffixes, but in others they stand apart from one another, e.g. in /raña/horses (= /rañ/ 'horse' + /-a/ pl. dir.), /rañu/ of the horse (rañ 'horse' + u 'gen. sg'), In these instances the number marker is fused with

1. In this analysis the word 'case' has been used for its 'formal' and 'conceptual' aspects. Formally, it implies a set of terminations, called 'Vibhakti' by Sanskrit grammarians and conceptually, syntactic relationship with other constituents of the syntactic unit, called 'karakā' by our traditional grammarians.

the case marker ; but in /rañu dwakč/ from the horse (rañ 'horse' + *u* (gen. sg.) + *dwakč* 'from near (post position) + ablative marker), /rañanu den/ on the horses (rañ 'horse' + *a* 'pl. suffix' + *nu* 'gen. suffix' + *den* 'on' (post position).

## 7.2. CASE MARKERS AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION

Distribution of various allomorphs of case suffixes in Kinnauri is as under : (number-wise).

### 7.2.1. Singular

(1) *Direct* : The direct singular has a zero suffix, *i.e.*, it is left unmarked in all types of stems.

(2) *Accusative-dative* : The alternants of the case suffixes of the acc.-dative case are : /pəñ~u~nu/ and their distribution is as under :

/pəñ/ : It follows all nominal and pronominal stems ending in a vowel, except the personal pronouns : /mipəñ/ 'to/ for a man', /dopəñ/ 'to/ for him.'

/u/ : It is affixed to all stems ending in a consonant : /rañu/ to a horse, /chañu/ to a boy. /kəsañu/ to us (incl. dual), /añu/ to me.

/nu/ : It is affixed to second person pronominal stems both singular and plural and also to all types of stems, in the plural, ending in a vowel : /kənu/ to you (non-hon.), /kinu/ to you (hon.), /niñanu/ to us, /chañanu/ to boys, /kəsañanu/ to us (incl. pl.).

(3) *Ergative* : The alternants of the ergative case suffixes are : /-əs(-is)~s. Their distribution is as under :

/-əs(-is)/ (a free variant) : It is affixed to stems ending in a consonant. /chañəs/ boy (by a boy), /raməs/ Ram/by Ram.

/-s/ : It is added to all (sg. and pl.) stems ending in a vowel. /gəs/ I, by me, /kis/ you, by you, /sitas/ Sita, by Sita, /chañas/ boys, by boys, /dogos/ they, by them.

(4) *Instrumental* : The suffix of this case is /-əs/ which is identical with the suffix of the ergative case, but differs syntactically (see 7.2.3) : /pakhəñəs/ with wings, /lhəstəs/ with an axe, /kəlməs/ with a pen, etc.

*Associative* : It is not a suffixal case. The sense of associa-

tion is indicated by a post-position, viz. /rəñ/ : /kinrəñ/ with you, /tirəñ/ with water, etc.

(5) *Ablative* : The suffixes of this case are : /-kč~č~dwakč/ /dwakč/ is a complex form composed of a postposition /dua/ 'near, with' + /-kč/ 'from'. The whole form assumes the status of a postposition which follows an inflected genitive base of an animate noun or pronoun. The distribution of these allomorphs is as under :

/dwakč/ : It is used with animate nouns : /rañu dwakč/ from the horse, /kinu dwakč/ from you.

/-č/ : It is added to inflected locative base (both sg. and pl.) of an inanimate noun : /kimoč/ from the house, /boḥoč/ from the tree, /boḥañoč/ from trees.

(6) *Genitive* : Allomorphs of the genitive suffix are :

/n~u~φ/ : Their distribution is as under :

/n/ : It is added to second person pronominal stems :

/kin/ your (hon.), /kəñ/ your (non. hon.).

/φ/ : It is attested with stems ending in rounded back vowels : /šakpo/ : / of the brother-in-law, /nu/ : / of this, /du : ~ do : / of that, his : In the first person, however, the pronominal stems /gə/ is replaced by /əñ/ in the genitive case. This forms base for the acc.-dative suffix as well, e.g. /əñu/ to me.

/u/ : It is suffixed to all other stems, /miu/ of man, /ramu/ of Ram, /kuyu/ of the dog, etc. sometimes it is also realized as /o/ after the vowel ending stems ; but its realization as /u/ after consonant ending stems is very clear.

(7) *Locative* : The suffix for the locative case is /o/ which is used with all inanimate stems, /kimo/ in the house, /tio/ in the water.

(8) *Vocative* : The marker of the vocative case is /e/ : /ləñe : / 'cow', /ame : / O mother !

### 7.2.2. Dual

In standard Kinnauri inflection for dual number is attested in pronominal stems only, in nominal stems the noun takes the suffix for the plural number of the given case and is qualified by /nis/ the numeral for 'two'. But in some varieties of it nominal stems are also inflected for dual number and the case suffix.



is appended to them are the same as for the dual number. The dual markers are : *niš~s~gsuñ~suñ/* : */niš/*—It is used with first person exclusive and the second person non-polite and demonstrative pron. stems. */niši/* we two, */nišu/* to us (two) or our (two), */nišis/* we/ by us, */kəniš/* you (two, ordinary), */kənišu/* to you (two), */kənišə/you/* by you, */zu nišu/* to these (two), */do nišu/* to them (two), etc.

*/š/*—It is affixed to the second person (polite) pronominal stem : */kiši/* 'we two', */kišu/* to two 'us', (*kišis/* 'us/by us', */kišu/* our, etc.

*/sañ/* : It is used with 1st person (inclusive), */kasañ/* we (two), */kasañu/* for us (two), etc. */suñ/~gsuñ/*. In Sangla Variety of Kinnauri the dual suffix */suñ~gsuñ/* is appended to all nominal and demonstrative stems, e.g. */dogsuñ/* they two, */rəñsuñ/* two horses, */pišisuñ/* two cats, etc.

### 7.2.3. Plural

In the plural all the case suffixes are affixed to plural forms of the direct case. In all the cases the case suffixes for the plural are identical with singular or dual, though on account of vowel ending flectional bases in the direct plural only those alternants are operative which are used with vowel ending stems in the singular.

The plural markers of the direct case in Kinnauri are—*/ga~ge~go~a~e~na~ña~φ/*. For their distribution see 5.3 (Number). Consequent to all vowel ending stems the case suffixes attested for various cases are as under :

(1) *Ergative* */-s/* : */niñas/* (excl.)~*/kasañas/* (incl.) We/by us, */kənegas/* (non-polite) : */kinas/* (polite) you/by you. */zugas/* this, */dogos/* that/by that, */kues/* /by dogs, */coras/* by thieves, */gudas/* by hands, etc.

(2) *Acc.-dative and genitive* : */nu/-/niñanu/* (excl.)~*/kasañanu/* (incl.) to us, our, */kəñiganu/* (ord.) : */kinanu/* (polite) your, to you, */zugonu/* of this, to this, */dogonu/* to them, their, */hətenu/* to whom?, */miganu/* to men, men's, */riñanu/* to horses, of horses, etc.

(3) *Ablative* : In this the suffix */dwakč/* is affixed to the acc. genitive plural base in case of animate nouns and personal

pronouns, and the /-č/ is affixed to the locative plural base of the inanimate nouns :

/rčňanu dwakč/ from horses. /boťhaňoč/ from trees.

(4) In nominal stems there is no inflection for locative. It is confined to inanimate nouns only. If necessary, it is done with the help of post positions (see 7.4.1.7).

Schemetically, all the nominal inflectional endings, indicating both cases and numbers, may be illustrated as under :

<i>Singular</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1. Direct-φ	-gsuň/-nis	-a/-e/-ga/-ge
2. Ergative-θs/-s (with trans. only)	-nisθs	-s
3. Acc. dative-u/-nu/pðň	-nišu	nu
4. Instrumental -θs (with inanimate)	-	-θs
5. Ablative	-kč/-č(dwakč)	-kč/č
6. Genitive	-(o) /-u/-n	-nu
7. Locative (with inanimate)	-o	-no
8. Vocative (with animate)	-e	-e

In the singular and dual (only in pronouns) numbers these inflectional endings are added to the bare stems, except the /-θs/ ending stems (as in *corθs*). In these stems, they are added after dropping the stem final /-θs/, and in the plural number these are added to the inflected form of the direct plural. For this purpose, both animate and inanimate nouns (including pronouns) can be grouped as vowel ending and consonant ending.

### 7.3. SYNTACTIC CORRELATION

Syntactic correlation expressed by various case forms may be explained as under :

#### 7.3.1. Direct Case

In the chain of syntactic components the direct case is used to express :

- (a) the subject of an intransitive verb (in all tenses) ;
- (b) the direct object of a transitive verb ;
- (c) the object of the verb /gyamig/ 'need, want' :
- (d) pronominal subject of a transitive verb in the past (optionally) ;
- (e) complement of the verb substantive.

The syntactic correlation of a noun phrase functioning in the above mentioned capacities is illustrated as below. The suffixal alternants of this case are : / $\phi$ / (sg) /-gsuñ~suñ/ (du.) /ga~ge~go~a~e~na~ña~ $\phi$  : / (For their distribution see 5.3).

- (i) /gə beok/  
I go (past 1st sg). I went.
- (ii) /riñza bəðədu/  
sister (pl.) come (past. cont.)=sisters were coming.
- (iii) /chañc khau zac/  
child meal eat (past. sg.)=Child ate food.
- (iv) /ama chañu kherəñ stuñotəš/  
mother child (obj.) milk (dir. obj.) drink (caus. pres. sg.)=mother makes the child drink milk.
- (v) /rañanu ci rəñ ti rañiñ/  
horse (pl.) grass and water (dir. obj.) give (imp. hon.)=  
give water and grass to the horses.
- (vi) /khir pannu tañes rəl gyamig/  
kheer cook for (p.p.) rice to need=  
rice is needed to prepare (cook) kheer.
- (vii) /do corəðs to/  
he thief (compl.) is='he is a thief'.

### 7.3.2. Accusative-dative case

The accusative-dative case is the case of the direct object of a transitive and of the indirect object of such a transitive verb which takes two objects, viz. direct and indirect. It has four allomorphs, viz. /-pəñ~nu~u~uñ/ which may be illustrated as under : (For their distribution see 7.2.1(2).

- /pəñ/ :
- (i) /gəʂ dopəñ khyak/  
I(Erg.) he (obj.) see (post. sg.)  
I saw him.
  - (ii) /dos hətʉ~hətpəñ rənšid/  
he (Erg.) who (obj.) give (past sg.)  
To whom did he give ?
  - (iii) /gə dopəñ balesom mašik/  
I he (obj.) speech not allow.  
I shall not allow him to speak.
  - (iv) /amas añu chañu anepəñ rano/  
mother (Erg.) She (refl.) child (obj.) maternal  
aunt (obj.) send (post).  
The mother sent her son to the maternal aunt.
  - (v) /gəʂ añ bapupəñ ciñi cemigduk.  
I (Erg.) I (Gen.) uncle (ind. obj.) letter (dir.)  
write (verb. sub.)  
I have to write a letter to my uncle.
- /u/ :
- (i) /ama chañcu kherəñ stuñotəš/  
mother child (indir.) milk (dir.) drink (caus. pres.)  
The mother makes the child drink milk.
  - (ii) /rañu ti rəñ ci rañiñ/  
horse (indir) water and grass give (imp. polite)
  - (iii) /zo bañiñu zəñc nimšeñ/  
this pot (obj.) this place leave (imp., polite)  
leave this pot at this very place.
  - (iv) /raməʂ mohəñu i batəñ io/  
Ram (Erg.) Mohan (indi. obj.) one thing ask  
(past. sg.)  
Ram asked Mohan one thing.
- /nu/ :
- /do niñanu tañceši kraboš/  
she we (excl. obj) see (part.) weep (past 3rd sg.)  
She started weeping on seeing us.
  - (ii) /thariñ, kinu le ketok/  
wait (imp.) you (obj.) also give (fut 1st. sg.).  
Wait, I will give to you as well.

- (ili) /checacəðs dekhraconu khio/  
 girl (erg. pl.) boy (obj. pl.) see (past 3rd pl.)  
 girls saw the boys.
- (iv) /dogos aṇu i kitab rəṇčəʃ/  
 they (Erg) I (obj.) one book give (past 3rd pl.)  
 They gave me a book.

Besides the above, (a), the subject of the verb /gyamig/ 'is desirable' 'should' also is placed in this case :

/dopəṇ hežəṇ ma bəṇ gyamigtoč/  
 he (obj.) here not come desirable is  
 he (hon.) should not come here.  
 /kinu dəṇ zəṛur bin gyač/  
 you (obj.) there must go desire (past)  
 You must have gone there.

(b) It is also used as a referant of a verbal derivative having the force of a verb.

/dopəṇ beo beo tetra dear hacis/  
 he (obj.) go (past part.) how many days become (past pl.)  
 how many days have passed since he went ?  
 /dogonu beo beo muluk dear hacis/  
 they (obj.) go (past part.) many days become (past)  
 many days have passed since they went.

(c) The subject of the verb expressing compulsive aspect also is put in the accusative case :

/dopəṇ məjburi zəṇ bəpəpa/  
 he (obj.) compulsarily here go compel (post)  
 he had to go from here compulsarily.  
 /dopəṇ əcanək həžəṇ bim pəpa/  
 he (obj.) suddenly here from go (inf.)-compel (past)  
 he, all of a sudden, had go go from here.

(d) In addition to above detailed affixes, there are some post-positions which serve as accusative-dative case markers, they are /uṇ/, /taṇes/~/staṇ/ 'for'

/uṇ/ : In our data the post-position /uṇ/ is attested with personal pronouns only. It follows the genitive inflected base ;

/ki dillic aṇuṇ thə~chə kañi/

What have you brought for me from Delhi?

/gə diŋč kinuṇ gasa krak/

I have brought clothes for you from there.

/tañes/~stañ/ : It is a post-position and is used in free variation with accusative-dative case marker /pəñ/. It follows the inflected genitive base and expresses the meaning 'for'.

- (i) /zu kherəñ piṣiu tañes to/  
this milk cat (gen.) for to be (pres. sg.)  
This milk is for the cat.

- (ii) /hodo gasa chaṇu tañes toš/  
those clothe (pl.) boy (gen.) for to be (pres. pl.)  
Those clothes are for the child.

It is also used with verbal nouns :

- (iii) /khir pannu tañes rəl gyamig/  
kheer to cook for rice to be needed  
Rice is needed to prepare (cook) kheer.

### 7.3.3. Ergative

The semantic correlation of this case is very important and has a much wider scope than in any Indo-Aryan language. Like other Tibeto-Himalayan languages it is a case of the subject of all transitive verbs in the past tense. In fact, in the languages of this group all transitive verbs are used in a passive sense, consequently, their subjects are always in the ergative or agentive case, as such it may be called originally a 'by case'. It has two allomorphs, viz. /-ə̃s (-is)~s/. These may be illustrated as under : (For their distribution see 7.2.1(3).

- /-ə̃s~is/ : (i) chaṇə̃s~chanis kitab hušə̃  
boy (Erg.) book (obj.) read (past. sg.)  
The boy read a book.

- (ii) /čə̃khracis checacu khio/  
boy (Erg.) girl (obj.) see (past sg.)  
The boy saw the girl.

- (iii) /corsə̃s kə̃nu toñco/  
Thief (Erg.) thou (obj.) beat (past sg.)  
The thief beat you.

- (iv) /ramðs mohðnu i batañ io/  
 Ram (Erg.) Mohan (indir) (obj.) one thing (obj.)  
 ask (past sg.)  
 Ram asked one thing to Mohan.
- (v) /dogos añu i kitab rānðš/  
 he (Erg. pl.) I (gen. sg.) one book (adj.) give  
 (Past pl.)  
 he (hon.) gave me a book.

/-s/

- (i) /gðs hðto lok/  
 I (Eng.) who (obj.) say (past sg.)  
 to whom did I say ?
- (ii) /kis gasa hām tata deñ/  
 you (Erg.) clothe (pl.) where put (past perf.).  
 where have you put your clothes ?
- (iii) /riñzas kinu khyaces/  
 sister (Eng. pl.) you (obj.) see (past sg.)  
 sisters saw you.
- (iv) /kuis roṭe zat/  
 dog (Erg. sg.) loaves (dir. pl.) eat (past sg.)  
 dog ate loaves.
- (v) /chañas kitabe hušeš/  
 boy (Erg. pl.) book (dir. pl.) read (past pl.)  
 boys read books.
- (vi) /checacos dekhraconu khio/  
 /girl (Erg. pl.) boy (obj. pl.) see (past. pl.)  
 girls saw boys.

#### 7.3.4. Casal Relationship of Subject and Object

The casal relationship of the subject and the object of a transitive verb is well defined in this language, i.e. as a general rule in all transitive verbs, other than those having two objects, the subject is invariably in the agentive or ergative case and the object, both human and non-human, in the direct (Nominative) case (see above (iv), (v)).

However, this rule regarding subject and object is not strictly adhered to with regard to first and second person pronominal subjects.

But in the case of a verb having more than one object the casual relationship is like this : the subject is in the ergative case, the indirect object in the accusative-dative case, and the direct object, real or logical, viz. a substantive or a verbal noun in the direct case (for examples see above).

#### (5) Instrumental Case

The instrumentality of an object with reference to an action is expressed by Instrumental case. The case suffixes of this case are identical with the case suffixes of the Ergative case, but the reason for setting up it as a separate case is this that (i) the ergative case is a subject of a transitive verb, whereas it is purely an agent or instrument in the performance of an action. (ii) the ergative suffixes are affixed to animate substantives only, whereas the suffixes of the instrumental case are affixed to inanimate substantives. This may be illustrated as under :

- (i) /pyaca pakhaṇas yabč du/  
bird (dir. pl.) wing (inst. pl.) fly (pres. indef. pl.)  
birds fly with wings.
- (ii) /do lhəstəs boṭhaṇu məlch du/  
he axe (instru.) tree (obj.) cut (pres. indef. sg.)  
he cuts the tree with an axe.
- (iii) /do kələməs ceo/  
he pen (instru. sg.) write (pres. 3rd sg.)  
he writes with a pen.
- (iv) /raməs ravənu dhənus-banəs šasət/  
ram (Erg.) ravana (obj.) bow-arrow (inst.) kill  
(past. sg.)  
Ram killed Ravan with a bow and arrow.

#### 7.3.6. Associative Case

I don't see any valid reason to recognize associative case as a separate entity. In Kinnauri, the sense of association or accompaniment is expressed by a post position, viz. /rən/ which follows the inflected genitive base.

/dos aṇu boa rən beomu du/



he (Erg.) he (refl.) father with go (Inf.) have (3rd sg.)

he has to go with his father.

/kəŋ rəŋ aid həd duŋe/

you (gen.) with another who to be (past sg.)

who was the other person with you ?

/kəŋ rəŋ gəle bətok/

you (gen.) with I also go (fut. 1st sg.)

I will also accompany (go with) you.

/nu šel bok/ i rəŋ~dəŋ tuŋ/

this medicine hot water with drink (Imp.)

Take this medicine with hot water.

### 7.3.7. Ablative Case

The separation, expulsion, issue and other kindred relations (concrete or abstract) of a thing or person are expressed by means of suffixes added to inflectional bases of substantives and by means of post-positions. The allomorphs indicative of this case are : /-kč~č~dwakč/ :

/dwakč/ : (i) /mi thəru dwakč byaŋc/

man lion (gen.) near from to be afraid (pres. indef. sg.)

Man is afraid of lion.

(ii) /laŋu dwakč nec toŋ/

cow (gen.) near from away be (imp. polite)

Stay away, from the cow.

(iii) aŋ dwakč beo duŋe/

I (gen.) near from go (imp.)

go away from near me.

(iv) /gə nu məntəŋ i lama dwakč hušiš/

I this *mantra* a lama from learn (past. sg.)

I learnt this *mantra* from a lama.

It is also used to express a causative or passive sense, viz. the sense of 'by' and as above follows the genitive base of the animate substantives.

/do chaŋu dokč/dwakč kaməŋ unodu/

he (subj.) boy (gen.) from near work get (caus. pres. sg.)

he gets the work done from the child/by the child.

/zu ciṭṭhi kin dokč ma hušiš/

this letter you (gen.) from not read (fut. pass. sg.)

This letter will not be read by you (you will not be able)

/aṇ dokč tošim ma hanim bādo/

I (gen.) from sit (Inf.) not can be (pres. indef. sg.)

sitting cannot be done by me (=I cannot sit).

/sita ramu dwakč ḡm io/

Sita (Sub.) Ram (gen.) near from path ask (past indef. 3rd sg.)

Sita asked about the way from Ram.

/dḡnc/ : It is added to demonstrative pronominal stems :

/dodḡnc/ from that, /zudḡnc/ from this,

/-č/ /boṭhaṇoč pṭhṭrṭṇa dod tuš/

tree in from leaf (pl. gen.) fall + V. Subst. (pres. pl.)

leaves fall down from trees.

/ḡokhanoč garṭṇ ḡoč ḡu/

/hill-in-from river rise (pres. indef.)

river rises from mountains.

/paṭhu gudoč dadoši sugro sugro haci/

pitcher hand-in from fall (past.) piece piece become

(past)

The pitcher was broken to pieces as soon as it fell from the hand.

/ki dillič aṇuṇ thḡ kaṇi/

you (hon.) dilli from I (gen.) for what bring (past 2nd sg.)

What have you brought for me from Delhi.

### 7.3.8. Genitive

The basic function of the genitive case is to indicate the relationship between two substantives in which the preceding substantive acts as a qualifier of the succeeding one. But in these languages the use of it is much extended, and it often bears the aspect of being substitute for other cases. It also serves as an inflectional base for many other cases which take various postpositions to express their causal relationships. (see 7.4.1.A).

Suffixal alternants of this case are : /nu~u~n/

It may be pointed out that though the genitive case suffixes, /-nu/ and /-u/ are identical with the suffixes of the accusative-

dative case, yet the mutually exclusive distribution of the accusative /pāñ/ and genitive /nu/ and /n/ makes a case for its distinct recognition. Moreover, there the relationship is between a substantive and a verb, whereas here it is between two substantives.

/-u/ It is affixed to all kinds of stems in the singular number :

/rəñu bañ/ horse's leg  
 /kuyu pōcniñ/ dog's tail  
 /pišiu miga/ cat's eyes  
 /gaṭo chaña amau kherəñ tuñc/

small child (pl.) mother (gen.) milk drink (pres. indef. 3rd pl.)  
 Small children drink mother's milk.

/ramu ama chañanu lañu khərəñ stuñc du/  
 ram (gen.) mother child (pl. obj.) cow (gen.) milk drink  
 (caus.) V.

Ram's mother gives to the children cow's milk to drink.

/hado hətu chañ to/

that who (gen.) son is

whose son is that ?

/-n/ It is affixed to the 2nd person pronominal stem.

/kin chañc hām to/

you (hon. gen.) child where is.

where is your son ?

/kəñ dua tetra laña toc/

you (non. hon. gen.) possession how many cows are.

how many cows have you ?

In the first person the stem /gə/ is replaced by /añ/ ;

/zo añ kim to/ This is my house.

/zo añ teteo(u) dešəñ to/

this my grand father (gen.) village is

This is my grand-father's village.

With demonstrative pronouns the genitive suffix /u/ is amalgamated with the preceding rounded back vowels, viz. /u, o/. Consequently, these are realized longer than their intrinsic quantity : /du :/ his, /do :/ of that, /zu~zo :/ of this /gindu :/ of the ball.

/-nu/—It is added to plural stems :

/rimanu mazañ kim to/  
field (pl. gen.) in the centre house—is  
There is a house in the middle of fields  
rañanu piṣṭiñ den barðñ to/  
There is load on the back of the horses.

The subject of the verb 'to have' is also placed in the genitive case.

/niña muluk nuz-wazo toc/  
our (gen.) many brothers are  
we have many brothers  
/añ id riñz baic to/  
my one sister younger is  
I have one younger sister  
/añ šum riñza baic to/  
my three sisters younger are  
I have three younger sisters.

The sense of possession, concrete or conceptual, is also expressed by genitive case forms itself or along with one of the post-positions denoting the sense of possession.

/zu añ kim to/  
this my house is  
This is my house  
/do:da tetra ze du/  
his possession how many goats are  
how many goats has he ?  
niñonda kinonoč duguna rima to/  
our possession you (pl.) from double fields is  
We have double the land than yours.  
(Here /niñonda/ and /kinonoč/ are contracted form of /niñanuda/ and /kinanudwake/).

Genitive is also the case of *respective reflexive pronominal* forms (for examples see 8.9).

Moreover, in Kinnauri the sphere of the use of genitive in association with post-position is tremendously extended. As such it touches and overlaps the boundaries of many other cases.

**7.3.9. Locative**

The place of location of an object or direction of an action is expressed by locative case. But as in other languages of this group in Kinnauri too, its scope is limited. For, it is inflected for inanimate objects only. Moreover, various time and space oriented relationships of this case are expressed by various post-positions and adverbial phrases. As such its scope is, more or less, limited to the inessive (i.e. in, within) relationship of time and space. It has two allomorphs, *viv.* /-o~no/.

**Distribution :** /-o/ is affixed to all singular stems and /no/ to plural stems :

- (i) /nu baŋiño thəð du/ ~ /chad du/  
this pot in what is  
What is there in this pot ?
- (ii) /maches tio nič du/  
fish water-in live to be.  
fishes live in water.
- (iii) /nu dešaño tetra miga nič du/  
this village in how many people (pl.) live are  
how many people live in this village ?
- (iv) /bandəra boṭhaṇano nic du/  
monkey (pl.) tree (pl. loc.) live are  
monkeys live on trees.
- (v) /doga phanekči liskə kamañ lano duš/  
they for long cold-in work do (pres. cont.)  
They are working in the cold for a long time.

It also expresses the aspect of direction :

- /gə huna riṃə bemo gyagyatok/  
I now field-in to go wishing am  
Now, I wish to go to the field.
- /dos dopəñ kimo šeda/  
he him home-in sent  
he sent him home.
- /dogu doganu kimano beo/  
They their of houses-in go (past. 3rd pl.)  
They went to their respective homes.

/gð tðro šupa aň kimo beoduk/  
 I today evening my home-in going am  
 I am going to my home today evening.

Besides, there are a few post-positions as well that convey the sense of the locative case (see 7.2.1. (5).

### 7.3.10. Vocative Case

There are two types of vocative markers in Kinnauri. One that is employed for calling a person from a distance another for addressing him/her. It has two allomorphs, viz. /ya/ and /ye/ denoting male and female (object) respectively. In case of calling from a distance these markers precede the noun concerned, but follow it in case of address or just calling attention.

/ya bua/	O father ! (calling)
/ye ama/	O Mother ! ( „ )
/bua ya/	father ! (address)
/ama ye/	mother ! ( „ )

There is another set of indeclinables, viz. /la~li/ and /le/ which is used with interrogative constructions. There too, the /la/ or /li/ (areal variants) are used with reference to masculine objects and /le/ with reference to feminine objects, put at the end of the sentence.

/hðm bio duň la~li/ well where are you going (misc.) ?  
 /hðm bio duň le/ well where are you going (fem.) ?

The normal term for calling attention is /oe/ : /oe mi/ well, gentleman.

### 7.4. POST-POSITION

It is a fairly marked syntactic group of invariables, semantically serving the same purposes as is served by a case suffix. They are designated so, because they invariably take their place after inflected forms of the substantives, some of these follow adverbial stems as well. In such a construction they form a part of an adverbial phrase. Semantically, in a syntactic relationship, involving spatial and temporal dimensions of it, the use of a post-position is of a special significance.

There it helps in expressing the semantic nuance with a greater precision.

#### 7.4.1. Government by Post-positions

This class of words also shows a sort of syntactic control termed as 'government' which it exercises over variable words in a phrase or a sentence. In Kinnauri most of the directive words used as a post-positions follow a definite inflected form of the preceding substantive. Sometimes a postposition may also govern more than one case. Thus on the basis of their government these can be grouped into the following two sub-classes.

A. Post-positions that follow an inflected genitive base of a substantives, in all numbers : These may be illustrated as under :

- (1) /da/ : It indicates 'possession' in the sense of 'having' :

/do:da tetra ze du/ how many goats has he ?

/kinda tetra rima to/ how many fields have you ?

/ðnda chðči ma/ I have nothing.

/niñonda kinonoč duguna rima to/

we have double the land than you have.

/teg ate da ceioč bðdi rima to/

elder brother has more land than all others have.

- (2) /dua~dwa/ : It seems to be a variant of /da/, expressing the sense of with, beside, possession, etc.

/kin dwa tetra rupya to/

how much money have you ?

- (3) /dðñ/ : It also expresses the sense of 'with' or 'possession' :

/kin dðñ tetra laña toč/

how many cows have you ?

/ðñ dðñ cheči ma/

I have nothing with me.

- (4) /stañ/ : It denotes the sense of 'for' or a point of time or extent of place.

/aņu i golču stañ bemu keñ/

please, let me go for a month.

/hunak stañ/ by this time  
 /do kimustañ añ rəñ bəda/  
 he came with me upto the home.

- (5) /tañes/ : It expresses the sense of for and seems to be a variation of /stañ/ :

/zu kherəñ pišiu tañes to/  
 this milk is for the cat.  
 [for other examples see acc. dative case (d)].

- (6) /rəñ/ : It means 'with, near, association, accompaniment, etc.

/dos añu boa (\*boau) rəñ beomu du/  
 he (hon.) has to go with his father.  
 /əñ rəñ do: chañ due/  
 his son was with me.

(For other examples see Associative case).

- (7) /den/ It expresses the locative sense of 'on, upon'.  
 /rañu den barəñ to/ there is load on the horse.  
 /do hathi den nicdu/ he is seated on the elephant.  
 (For other examples see locative case)

- (8) /nimsko/ 'behind'  
 /skulu nimsko boṭhāñ to/  
 there is a tree behind the school.  
 /do boṭhañu nimsko du/  
 that is behind the tree.

- (9) /omsko/ 'before, in front of'.  
 /kimu omsko rima toš/  
 There are fields in front of the house.

- (10) /komo/ 'in, inside, within'.  
 /macha tiu komo dič du/  
 fishes live in the water.  
 /do kimu komo du/  
 he is in the house.

- (11) /kəchəñ/ below, beneath, near.  
 /dešañu kəchəñ i garəñ to/  
 There is a river below the village.



- (12) /yũthuñ/ below, beneath, under  
 /do mezðñu yũthuñ to/  
 that is under the table.
- (13) /mðzðñ/ 'between'.  
 /ramu mohðnu mðzðño ram teg to/  
 Ram is elder between Ram and Mohan.
- (14) /kacðñs/ 'for, on behalf of'.  
 /ramu kacðñs/ for Ram, on behalf of Ram.
- (15) /bəñthi/ 'instead of', in place of.  
 /rañu bəñthi phoc thð eduduñ/  
 why are you giving me a donkey in place of a horse.
- (16) /cherra/ except.  
 /ramu cherra/ except Ram, (all may go).
- (17) /bðskyðñ/ than, better than (comparative degree)  
 /ramu bðskyðñ mohðn dam mi to/  
 Mohan is a better person than Ram.
- (18) /dwakč~dokč/ from, by (passive formative), nearby  
 /sita ramu dwakč ðm io/  
 Sita asked about the way from Ram.  
 /do chañu dwakč kamðn unoduš/  
 he gets the work done by the boy.  
 /kin dwakč yunim mahani/  
 walk cannot be done by you : you cannot walk.  
 /ramu dwakč ravanu šidid/  
 Ravana was killed by Ram  
 (for more examples see Ablative case).
- (19) /dðñc/ 'from'. It is added to demonstrative pronominal stems : /dodðñc/ from that, /zudðñc/ from this, etc.

B. There are some postpositions which follow either a substantive in the direct case or an adverbial stem, ultimately resulting into an adverbial phrase.

- (1) /thug/ 'above'.  
 /sðrgðñ hug/ above the sky.
- (2) /stañ/ 'upto', 'till', added to adverbial stem  
 /zðñ stañ/ upto here.

- (3) /soñ/ till, upto, added to adverbial stem  
 /do halam hunak soñ, khau zao nita/  
 he may be eating by this time.  
 /hunaksoñ to doga khau zazanitiš/  
 They might have eaten their food by now.

### 7.5. PARADIGMATIC CLASSES OF NOUNS

Paradigmatically, Kinnauri nominal stems can be grouped into four classes.

- (i) Consonant ending stems that take /a/ as direct plural suffix, as /rəñ/ > /rəña/ /kim/ > /kima/ etc.
- (ii) /-əs/ ending stems that drop the suffix /əs/ and take /a/ for the direct plural, as /corəs/ > /cora/, /pujarəs/ > /pujara/ 'priests'.
- (iii) Vowel ending stems that form their direct plural with the suffix /ga/, as in /mi/ > /miga/ men, /piši/ > /pisiga/ cats, etc.
- (iv) Nominal stems denoting unique objects or objects of natural phenomena that are not inflected either for dual or plural number, such as /ti/ water, /me/ fire, /žu/ cloud, /mar/ ghee, butter, /lan/ wind, etc.

Besides the above noted broad classes there are a few stems which do not fall in any category mentioned above. But their number is so small that they cannot form a class for themselves. They can, collectively, be called a diviant group. The notable stems are—/həte/ who (pl.) < /hət/ who (sg.) /kina/ you (pl. polite), /niña/ we < /gə/ 'I' /loŋge/ < /loñ/ nose screw.

### 7.6. MODELS OF NOMINAL INFLECTIONS

Full paradigms of the representative stems of these classes can be presented as under :

#### A. Animate Nouns

- (i) *Consonant ending* : /rəñ/ horse

	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
1. Direct	rəñ	raña
2. Ergative	ranəs	rañas

3. Acc.-dative	raṇu	raṇanu
4. Ablative	raṇu dwakč	raṇanudwakč
5. Genitive	raṇu	raṇanu

## (ii) /-əs/ ending : /corəs/ thief

	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
1. Direct	corəs	cora
2. Ergative	corəsəs	coras
3. Acc. dative	corəsu	ccranu
4. Ablative	corəsudwakč	coranudwakč
5. Genitive	corəsu	coranu

## (iii) Vowel ending : /mi/ man

	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
1. Direct	mi	miga
2. Ergative	mis	migas
3. Acc. dative	mipəñ	miganu
4. Abl.	miudwakč	miganudwakč
5. Gen.	miu	miganu

## /piši/ cat

1. Direct	piši	pišiga
2. Erg.	pišis	pišigas
3. Acc. dative	pišipəñ	pišiganu
4. Abl.	pišidwakč	pišigawakč
5. Gen.	pišiu	pišiganu

## B. Inanimate Nouns of /ti/, /mar/ class

(1) Vowel ending, /ti/, water, /me/ fire, /cha/ salt.

	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
1. Direct	ti	x
2. Ergative	tis	x
3. Acc. dative	tiu	x
4. Abl.	tiudwakč	x
5. Genitive	tiu	x
6. Locative	tio	x

## (ii) Consonant ending, /golsðñ/~ /golchañ/

Sg.

Pl.

- |                |           |
|----------------|-----------|
| 1. Direct      | Golchañ   |
| 2. Ergative    | Golchanðs |
| 3. Acc. dative | golchañu  |
| 4. Ablative    | golchañoc |
| 5. Genitive    | golchañu  |

For paradigms of pronominal stems see 8.4.5.

## VIII

### PRONOUNS

#### 8.1. PRONOUNS DEFINED

Pronouns form a distinct class of substantives. These being substitutes for nominal stems are inflected as nouns for numbers and cases, and can function as a subject or object of a verb form, but unlike nouns it is a small closed class of substantives.

#### 8.2. CLASSIFICATION

Semantically, all pronominal stems, in Kinnauri, are divisible into five classes, *viz.* (i) Personal, (ii) Demonstrative, (iii) Interrogative, (iv) Indefinite, (v) Reflexive. All of these take number and case suffixes, but gender is not marked. In case of number, personal, demonstrative and reflexive pronouns are inflected for three numbers in which only the duality and the plurality is marked by their respective suffixes and the singularity is left unmarked.

On the basis of their paradigmatic differences the pronominal stems, however, form two distinct groups, *viz.* Personal and non-personal or demonstrative. These differences are recognizable in the following terms :

(i) Paradigmatically, all personal pronouns share all the characteristics of animate nouns, but not the other.

(ii) Their contracted forms can occur as personal affixes (infixes and suffixes) with the verbal forms to denote the object and the subject of the given verbal form.

(iii) The first person pronoun has two different stems for the dual and plural numbers, one inclusive, *i.e.* including the person addressed to, and the other exclusive, *i.e.* excluding the person addressed to form taking part in the action in question.

(iv) The pronouns of second and third person have distinctive stems to distinguish between ordinary and honorific forms of them.

(v) All non-personal pronouns in their stem form can function as a modifier of a noun head which personal pronouns donot.

The above noted morpho-semantic differences can also be taken as a basis for recognizing pronouns as a separate class of substantives in Kinnauri.

Moreover, from the point of inflectional bases, the personal pronouns of the second and the third person can be termed as 'simple', because of their maintenance of the stem element constantly in all numbers and cases, whereas the first person pronoun as 'complex' on account of showing complexity of substitution of its stems in various inflectional forms.

### 8.3. COMPLEXITY OF PRONOMINAL STEMS

In all the dialects of Kinnauri pronominal stems manifest various types of complexities, which can be presented as follows :

(a) The stem for the first person pronoun is /gə/, but it is attested only in the singular forms of the direct and ergative cases, for all other case forms in singular it is replaced by /əŋ/. Similarly, in exclusive dual and plural it is replaced by /niš/ and /niŋ/ respectively, and in inclusive dual and plural by /kasaŋ/. Both are inflected for all numbers and cases. The distinction of inclusive and exclusive can be illustrated by the following examples :

Thus, if some one says to a friend /kasañ zatič/ 'we shall eat' then it means we (you and I) shall eat (incl.) ; but if he says to his servant, in the presence of his friend, /niši zatič/ 'we shall dine' (excl.) then here 'we' means, 'he (the friend) and I, not thou'. This pronominal form itself makes it clear that the servant has not to dine with them.

(b) The second person pronoun has two different stems for honorific and non-honorific expressions. They are /ki/ (hon.) and /kə:/ (non-hon.). In this case the consonant is static, it is only the vowel that is replaced. Both are inflected for all numbers and cases.

(c) In third person, pronominal stems show a three way distinction, viz. proximate, proximate-remote (within the sight), obviative (out of the sight). There too, the distinction of hon. and non-hon. is attested, but the hon. form, as in Hindi, is not distinct from the plural form of it. But it can also have /he/ as a prefix.

The above noted complexities of the pronominal structure in Kinnauri can be illustrated as below :

Person	Singular		Dual		Plural	
	Ord.	hon.	Exclusive	Inclusive	Excl.	Incl.
1st Person						
dir. (Erg.)	gə	—	niši	kasañ	niña	kasaña
1st Person						
Acc. (Gen.)	añu	—	nišu	kasañu	niñanu	kasañanu
2nd Person	kə	ki	—	kəniš kiši	—	kəniga kina
3rd Person	do	dogo	dogsuñ	—	dogo	Remote (out of sight)
	zu	zugo	zuniš	—	zugo	proximate
	nu	nugo	nuniš	—	nugo	prox.- remote

#### 8.4. INFLECTION

All pronominal stems take the number and case suffixes in the same way as the nominal stems do. For case inflections

personal pronouns follow animate nouns and demonstrative pronouns follow inanimate nouns.

Paradigms of the personal pronouns are as under :

### 1st Person

Case	Singular		Dual		Plural	
			Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive
Direct	gð	niši	kasañ	niña	kasaña	
Ergative	gðs	nišis	kasañðs	niños	kasañas	
Acc. dative	añu	nišu	kasañu	niñanu	kasañanu	
Ablative	añ dwakč	nišu-	kasañu-	ninañu-	kasañanu-	
Genitive	añ	nišu	kasañu	niñonu	kasañanu	

### 2nd Person

Case	Singular		Dual		Plural	
	Ord.	hon.	Ord.	hon.	Ord.	Honorific
Direct	kð	ki	kðniš	kiši	kðniga	kina
Ergative	kðs	kis	kðnišðs	kišis	kðnegas	kinas
Acc. dative	kðnu	kinu	kðnišu	kišu	kðneganu	kinanu
Ablative	kðndwakč	kanu-	kðnišu-	kišu-	kðnanu-	kinanu-
Genitive	kðn	kin	kðnišu	kišu	kðneganu	kinanu

## 8.5. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

This class of pronouns has three sub-classes, viz. definite, indefinite, and interrogative, differing from personal pronouns on many counts :

### Definite Demonstrative Pronouns

Distinctive features of this class of pronouns are :

- (i) Definite demonstrative pronouns referring to animate objects only take the suffixes for all numbers and cases,
- (ii) like personal pronouns they are not represented in verbal forms in their contracted forms,
- (iii) these do not exhibit the



duality of honorific and non-honorific and of exclusive and inclusive as is attested in the 2nd and 1st person pronouns—respectively, (iv) they can function, in their root form, as modifiers to a noun head, (v) in the acc. dative case they take the suffix /pəŋ/ instead of /ə/ though their stems end in a vowel, (vi) in the ablative case they take the posposition /dəŋč/ instead of /dwakč/, attested in personal pronouns.

Moreover, as pointed out above, in this language definite demonstrative pron. maintain a three way distinction with three distinct stems, indicating a three way distinction of location and distance. These can be illustrated through their paradigms as under :—

*Obviative (remote) /do/he, she, it, that*

Case	Singular	Dual	plural
Direct	do/hədo	dogsun	dogo
Ergative	dos	donišis	dogos
Acc. dative	dopəŋ	donišu	dogonu
Ablative	dodəŋč	donišu-dəŋč	dogonu-dəŋč
Genitive	do:	donišu:	dogonu:
Locative	dor	donišo	dogono

*Proximate /zu/~ /həzu/ this*

Case	Singular	Dual	Plural
Direct	zu/həzu	zuniš	zugo
Ergative	zus	zunišis	zugos
Acc. dative	zupəŋ	zunišu	zugonu
Ablative	zudəŋč	zunišu-dəŋč	zugonu-dəŋč
Genitive	zu:	zunišu:	zungonu:
Locative	zor	zonišo	zogono

**8.5.1. Proximate-remote**

/nu~hə/nu/ this/ that, (within the sight) : It is inflected exactly like /zu~həzu/ : /nu(āg.) : /nuniš/ (du) /nugo (pl.) etc.

The distinction of honorific and non-honorific is indicated

by employing plural forms for the singular. Their syntactic use can be illustrated as follows :

/do hət duge/ who was he ?  
 /nu mipəŋ khyan/ look at that man  
 /zu aŋ kui to/ this is my dog.  
 /kis zo~zu thəd laŋ laŋ dʊŋ/  
 what have you (hon.) done this ?

The distinguishing characteristics of the definite and other pronouns of this sub-class are :

(i) definite demonstratives when used as personal pronouns take suffixes for all the three numbers and are inflected for all the cases for which the personal pronouns are inflected, but the indefinite and interrogatives are normally not inflected for the dual and plural members, (iii) the interrogative forms, unlike the definite and indefinite forms, function as connectives and relative pronouns (see 8.6, 8.8) which the others do not.

### 8.5.2. Indefinite Demonstrative Pronouns

As a general practice the pronouns of this class have only one form, i.e. they are neither inflected for non-singular numbers, nor for various cases, though they can enter into morphological processes like reduplication, compounding, etc. Many of them also form part of adjectives and numerals. Some of the most commonly used indefinite pronouns are : /cəiki/ 'all, /cəiko/ everyone, /ide/ 'a few, some, /hətiā/ whosoever, /thədiā/ whatever, etc. Their syntactic uses can be illustrated as follows :

/siu khyakhya ceiki bobo/  
 All ran away on seeing a lion.  
 /aidu nəkəl tha ləŋ/  
 Don't imitate others.  
 /thədiā unciŋ, ketok/  
 whatever (you) ask for, I shall give.  
 /ədorcin ide~adən thi:k dug, ide surk/  
 some of them were sweet and some sour.  
 /ceikiu gudo tiŋa dug~due/  
 Everyone had a stick in his hand.

/ide khau zao du/  
Some are taking food.  
/cðikoda i i raño du/  
Everyone has a horse.

### 8.6. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

Kinnauri has two interrogative pronouns, viz. /hət~həd/ 'who, which?' and /thəd-chəd/ 'What?'. Between these the former is used for both animate and inanimate references and the latter for an inanimate referent only, with reference to animate referent its use is confined to the enquiry of his/her status, profession, and action etc. These stems are identical with interrogative adjectives.

Moreover, the stem /hət/ takes the same number and case suffixes as other demonstrative pronouns do, but /thəd/ is inflected for singular number only, with regard to casual inflections it has been noted that though it is inflected for locative case, yet is not inflected for ergative case: /thədo/ in which? The full paradigm of /hət/ is as follows:

<i>Case</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Direct	hət	hətesuñ	həte
Acc. dative	hətu/hətpəñ	hətesuñu	hətenu
Ergative	hətə	hətesuñəs	hətes
Ablative	hətu	hətesuñu	hətenu
Locative	thədo		

Suffixes for /thəd/ are the same as for /hət/.

### 8.7. SPECIFIER

The interrogative pronoun /hət~həd/ can have a specifier viz. /sya~se/ which is declined for gender as well, e.g. /həd sya chañ/ which (one) boy? /hətsyarəg/ which (one) stone?, /hətse bakhər/ which one goat? etc.

## 8.8. RELATIVE PRONOUN

There are no specific stems for relative pronouns in this language. In relative clause constructions, the function of a relative pronoun is performed by the interrogative pronouns or interrogative adverbs itself. Suffixes like /aŋ/ 'ever', /iaŋ/ 'soever' are also added to them; as in /hətiaŋ/ whosoever </hət/ who? Similarly, /thədiaŋ/ whatever, /həliaŋ/ however, /həmiaŋ/ wherever.

/hətyaŋ bəto, hədoi bito/  
 whosoever will come, he will go.  
 /do go chədiaŋ gyam lanim bəto/  
 They may do whatever they like.  
 /thədyāŋ unciŋ gəketok/  
 I shall, give, whatever you ask for.

## 8.9. REFLEXIVE PRONOUN

The most interesting morphological feature of the languages of this group is this that they have a full series of reflexive pronouns, parallel to personal pronouns, for both the numbers. The bases for the reflexive stems in the first and second person are the genitive case forms of these pronouns and for the 3rd person is /əŋ/. These are followed by a linking vowel /-i/ and the emphatic particles /-si/.

/gə aŋ kaməŋ gə:/i lentok/  
 I, myself, do this work.  
 /niŋa niŋanu gasa niŋanisi cictoč/ (excl.)  
 We ourselves wash our clothes.  
 /kasaŋa kasaŋanu gasa kasaŋisi cictoč (incl.)  
 We ourselves wash our clothes.  
 /kə kəŋ kaməŋ kəŋisi ləŋ/  
 You (ord.) yourself do your work.  
 /ki kin kaməŋ kinisi ləniŋ  
 You (hon.) yourself do your work.

The reflexive stem for the 3rd person is /aŋ/ both for pronominal and nominal stems :

/do anu gasa anisi cicdu/

he himself washes his clothes.

/ama anu chaño gasa anisi cicdu/

The mother herself washes her son's clothes.

/doga anega kəməñ anisi lanto/

They themselves should do their work.

The dual form of the reflexive pronoun expresses the sense of reciprocity ; /anegesun/ each other, mutually : /rañsun anegsun kulsitto/ the two horses will strike each other.

## IX

### ADJECTIVES

#### 9.1. DISTINCTIVE STATUS

On the basis of their syntactic position and semantic functions the nominal modifiers, viz. adjectives, have been classified as separate class of words. Syntactically, they occupy a position immediately before the head in a noun phrase. Structurally, they are both simple and derived, and inflectionally variable and non-variable. The number of adjectives belonging to the variable class is very small and is confined to adjectives formed with agentive suffixes /sya, cya, dya/ only. These, too, are inflected for gender only. However, all types of adjectives can enter into morphological constructions for making stems for nominal and adverbial derivations.

#### 9.2. SIMPLE ADJECTIVES

Simple adjectives are those which, in terms of structural analysis, are not analysable into stem/root formative suffixes. As such they are monomorphemic and mostly monosyllabic, e.g. /teg/ big, large, elder, /dam/ good, fine, nice, /uš/ old, former, /ñug/ new, /šyaro/ lovely, beautiful, /lis/ cold, /lag/

bitter, /rɔk/ black, /rag/ green, /gaɬo/ small, younger, /laɬa/ deaf, etc. Adjectives belonging to this class are non-variable.

### 9.3. DERIVED ADJECTIVES

By their very definition, derived adjectives are dia-morphic, *i.e.* composed of a root/stem + one or more formative suffixes. The root/stem morpheme can be any, a verb, noun, pronoun or another adjective. The following types of adjectives belonging to this class are normally attested in Kinnauri.

#### (i) Verbal Stem + agentive suffix

/ya~e/. It is inflected for gender : /rɔnc-ya/ giver (masc.) : /rɔnce/ giver (fem.) < /rɔnc/ gives ; /uncid-ya/ (masc.) : /uncide/ (fem.) begger ; /layasid-ya/ shy, /toŋsid-ya/ quarrelsome.

#### (ii) Stem + šya (masc.) : se (fem.)

The stem can be a noun, pronoun, verb or adjective. It also forms an adjective of agent noun class. /byo-šya/ goer, /za-šya/~ /za-zya/ eater, /byaŋ-šya/ coward < /biaŋ/ fear ; /krašya/ hairy < /kra/ hair ; /hɔd-šya mi/ which one man, /hɔd-se checac/ which one woman, /gaɬo-šya apa/ younger one father-in-law, /gaɬo-se ama/ younger one mother-in-law, /teg-šya bore/ elder one brother-in-law, /teg-se bore/ elder one sister-in-law. /rɔŋzya/ (masc.) /rɔŋse/ (fem.) house owner, /mɔzɔŋ-šya/ the medial one, /yuɬuŋ-šya/ the lower one, /zamigšya/ edible, /byamigšya/ terrible, etc.

#### (iii) Verb stem + sid

It forms a verbal adjectives, viz. passive participle : /paleasid/ tamed < /paleamig/ to tame.

/šisid/ dead < /simig/ to die  
 /rhɔgsid/ broken < /rhɔgmig/ to be broken  
 /dasid/ fallen < /dannig/ to fall.  
 /pasid/ cooked < /pasnig/ to cook.

#### Examples :

/šisid semcɔn/ dead animal

/rhəgsid baɪn/ broken utensil  
 /pasid khau/ cooked meal  
 /dasid boʰhən/ fallen tree  
 /pyaces zasid phələp/ fruit eaten by a bird

## (iv) Negative particle + verb stem

/mə pəkic/ unripe < /pakmig/ to cook  
 /mə ne :/ unknown < /ne :/ mig/ to know  
 /mə phyasid/ stupid < /phyasid/ (?)  
 /məʃyare/ ugly (f.) < /syare/ beautiful (f.)  
 /mələn/ unworkable < /lənmig/ to do, to work

## (v) Verb root + present participial suffix /o/

/ʃio/ dying < /ʃimig/ to die  
 /yabo/ flying < /yabmig/ to fly  
 /dado/ falling < /danning/ to fall

## Examples :

/ʃio mi/ (a) dying man  
 /gəsid yabo pyac khyak/  
 I saw a flying bird.  
 (for more examples see 11.14.3)

## (vi) Root + s :

/ucis/ angry < /uncimig/ to be angry  
 /zoris/ anxious < /zori/ anxiety

## (vii) Stem + əs :

/tiskərs/ thirsty /tiskər/ thirst

## (viii) Stem + des/deski (-ki emphatic particle)

/damdes/ somewhat good < /dam/ good  
 /marides/ somewhat bad < /mari/ bad  
 /hənesdes/ of this very type < /hənes/ this  
 /pagal deski/ like a mad (man)

## (ix) Stem + si :

/cha-si/ salted < /cha/ salt



**(x) /hə/ + Dem. Pron./Adv :**

(Here /hə/ 'like' is an indeclinable participle)  
 /həde/ < /hədis/ like that, that way, /hə ne/~  
 /həze/ like this, of this type, /hə-te/ like what ?  
 of what type ? which way ?

**(xi) Numeral + Dem. Pron.**

/i-de/ some, /aide/ some other  
 /ide mi/ some men, /aide raṇa/ some other horses

**(xii) Root + tra :**

/te-tra/ how much ? how many ?  
 /hə-tra/ so much, so many.

**(xiii) Stem + /-ki~-pəṇ/ :**

/cei ki/ all, /cei pəṇ/ every one

**(xiv) Aggr. Num. + Ko :**

/cei-ko/ each one  
 /cei-koda i raṇo du/ each one has a horse.

**(xv) Root/Stem + əs (a formative suffix)**

Adjectives of this class too, are inflected for number and gender. In this class the formative suffix. /əs/ stands for singular number and masculine gender. Its plural is formed by dropping the final consonant and lengthening the syllable final vowel /ə/, as in /moṭhəs/ fat (masc. sg.) : moṭhə: (masc. pl). In this pattern the feminine formative suffix is /e/, which is added to the stem, as in /moṭhe/ fat (fem. sg.). Here, too, the plural form is obtained by lengthening the final suffixal vowel /e/ ; e.g. /moṭhe/ fat (fem. sg.) : /moṭhe:/ fat (fem. pl.) Adjectives belonging to this class are—/moṭhəs/, fat, /choṭəs/ short, /laməs/ long, /pətləs/ lean, /cokhəs/ clean and pure, /bakhləs/ thick, /dugəs/ deep. It may be noted that all the adjectives of this class belong to the Indo-Aryan stock, as such it can be concluded that these have inherited their inflectional character from the language from which they were borrowed.

#### 9.4. KINDS OF ADJECTIVES

On the basis of their semantic functions, these can be classified as demonstrative, qualitative, quantitative, interrogative, possessive numeral etc.

##### 9.4.1. Qualitative Adjectives

Qualitative adjectives are mostly simple and non-variable. The most common of these may be enumerated as under :

/teg/ big, large, elder, /li /:/ g/ heavy,  
 /gaŋo/~/gaŋoc/ /zigic/ small, little younger,  
 /moθhəs/ fat, thick, /bakhləs/ thick  
 /nakic/ slim, /dam/ good, fine /šare/ beautiful,  
 /mari/ bad, /laŋa/ deaf, /raŋk/ high, /tral/ hard,  
 /yoθhən/ low, /ušk/ old, earlier /ñyug/ new, /surk/  
 sour, /ñuk/ young, /suig/ red, /θhog/ white,  
 /muluk/ plenty, /pik/ yellow, /rag/ green,  
 /rok/ black, /kag/ bitter /bək/ hot, /lis/ cold, etc.

There are a few which are variables and are inflected for number and gender (See 9.3 (I-II)).

*Derived Qualitative Adjectives* : Besides the above noted simple qualitative adjectives, there are a good number of adjectives which are derived from various sources (for examples see above 9.3).

(xvi) In many cases Kinnauri have no single term for an adjective of quality. As such they are expressed through explanatory phrases, e.g.

/rêmadu/ blunt = which is not sharp  
 /mabyañcea/ brave = one who does not fear  
 /mêneca/ ignorant = one who does not know  
 /jali locya/ liar = one who speaks a lie  
 /mê phryasid/ stupid = one who has no intelligence  
 /mêšyaro/ (masc.) /mêsyare/ (fem.) ugly = not beautiful.

##### 9.4.2. Pronominal Adjectives

Structurally, there are certain classes of pronouns which

share the position of a nominal modifier. They are demonstrative and possessive ones.

/zo mi aṇ ate to/ This man is my elder brother.

/do kin kui to/ that is your dog.

/do/: chaṇ hām to/ where is his son ?

/dogo chaṇa hām nicdu/ where do those boys live ?

#### 9.4.3. Possessive Adjectives

They are derived from nouns and pronouns, and the demonstrative from non-personal pronouns.

/doganu kimo/ their house, /bayo chaṇ/ brother's son,

/bayo kim/ brother's house, /ate cimed/ elder brother's daughter.

#### 9.4.4. Interrogative Adjectives

The number of this class of adjectives is very small they are : /hāmšya/ (m.) /hāmše/ (f.) which one, /tetra/ how much, how many ?

These may be illustrated as under :

/hamšya chaṇ/ which boy ?

/hamše checac/ which girl ?

/kinda tetra rupya to/ How much money have you ?

/kindaṇ tetra laṇa /oc/ How many cows have you ?

/kinda tetra rima to/ How much land have you ?

/nu dešaṇo tetra miga nicdu/ How many persons live in that village, /žuṇ te mi du/ How many persons are here ;

/du thi namēṇ du/ what is his name ?

#### 9.4.5. Adjective of Quantity

The number of this class of adjectives is very small. The most commonly used ones are :

/muluk/~kus/ plenty, as in /dogonu beo beo muluk~kus bela hacis/ enough time has passed since they went ;

/gār?b/ enough : /gārəb chwa/ plenty of grain, /kyəlakha/ much ; /kyəlakha ti/ much water, /gaṭoc des/ small like :

/tetra/ how much : /kinda tetra rimo to/ How much land have you ?

## 9.5. ADJECTIVE PHRASE

Constituents of an adjective phrase may be :

- (i) an adjective with one or more modifiers.  
/gomai thig/ extremely sweet, /walidam/ very good  
/ceioc bodi/ more than all = best.
- (ii) Noun phrases followed by genitive markers  
/do miu chañ/ the son of that man
- (iii) Phrases with post positions :  
/boṭhañoc dasidya pṭhrṇ/ a leaf fallen from the tree.  
/ti bṇgi paṭhuc/ An earthen jar filled with water.
- (iv) Phrases with 'like' preceded by a noun, indicating comparison, /pomdes cog/ white like snow/as white as snow.

## 9.6. SEMANTICALLY CONDITIONED ADJECTIVES

There are certain adjectives the use of which is confined to certain classes of words only.

These may be given as under :

(a) /skyo/ 'male', the use of it is confined to non-human animate objects only. It expresses the masculineness of the noun it modifies, /skyo kui/ dog, /skyothṛ/ lion, /skyo kukri/ cock, /skyoran/ horse, etc.

/mṇṭ~mṇc/. It expresses the feminine-ness of the non-human animate object it qualifies, e.g. /mṇṭ kui/ bitch, /mṇṭ thṛ/ lioness, /mṇṭ kukri/ hen, /mṇṭrañ/ mare, etc.

(b) /ko/ 'great' used with kin terms of fourth generations of both ascending and descending order, as in

/kotete/ great grand father.

/ko spač~pač/ great grandson/daughter.

/ko api/ great grand mother.

(c) /ḍekhṛa/ 'male'. Its use is confined to human objects only. It expresses the masculineness of the noun head modified by

it, e.g. /dəkhra pač/ *male grand child*. Its opposite term is /checac/ 'female'. It indicates the feminineness of a human being, as in /checac pač/ *grand daughter*.

(d) /teg/—It is used with reference to the seniority in age among kins, as in, /teg daoc/ *elder sister*, /teg saya/ *husband's elder brother*, /teg bowa/ *father's elder brother*.

/zigic/ ~ /gačoc/. It is used with reference to the juniority of age among kins, /zigic baic/ *younger sister*, /zigic bore/ *husband's younger brother*, /gačoc bowa/ *father's younger brother*.

(e) /te/—'grand'. It is also used with reference to kins only, e.g. /te-te/ *grand father* or *grand father-in-law*, /te-go/ *grand mother-in-law*.

(f) /mapo/ 'mother's'. It is used with reference to kin from mother's side, as in /mapo tete/ *maternal grand father*, /mapo api/ *maternal grand mother*, /mapo nane/ *maternal aunt*, /mapo bayac/ *maternal brother (younger)* /mapoate/ *maternal brother (elder)*, /mapodaoc/ *maternal sister*.

## 9.7. DEGREES OF COMPARISON

In Kinnauri, as in many modern Indo-Aryan languages, the mechanism for comparison of degrees of adjectives is simple and non-suffixal. In comparing two objects it is effected by placing the object of comparison in the ablative case and the object compared in the nominative case or in the positive degree, e.g.

/yuthōñ rim thug rimoč teg to/  
lower field upper field from big is.

The lower field is bigger than the upper one.

/niñonda kinonoč duguna rimo to/  
in our possession you from double land is.

We have double the quantity of land than yours.

(as compared to yours our land is double).

But if the comparison involves more than two objects than it is effected by using the terms /zonu/ 'of all' (=biggest, largest, tallest etc.) or /ceioc bōdi/ ~ /kām/ *more/less than all* (maximum, minimum, smallest etc.).

/mazðñsya rim zonu teg du/  
 medial field of all big is  
 The medial field is the biggest.  
 /ateo da ceioc bōdi rimo du/  
 elder brother possesses all from more land is  
 The elder brother has more than all.  
 /cei kes debas/ better than all, i.e. best.

But according to Grierson's statement (L.S.I. Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 433) the comparison is expressed by adding *-s*, probably the suffix of the ablative, to the compound noun and retaining the adjective unchanged. Thus, /nu-u baia an-u ringse-s lamðs du/ his brother is taller than his sister. Our data, however, does not confirm this structure.

In Lower Kinnauri, it is expressed by means of the term, /-az/ thus, *damk* good : *zhu az damk* better than this, *cei az damk* better than all, that is best, other terms like /ka/ than as in *zuka debas* better than this, *nuka deʔas* better than that, /bðskyðñ/ 'better than' (as in *nubðskyðñ zu dðm* to this is better than that) or /nu/ 'than', added to plural nouns (as in *nu (~ka)*, *ceinu dam* (that is better than all' are also attested. (Bailey, 1938).

## 9.8. INTENSIFIERS

In a phrasal construction an adjective may have one or more modifiers or intensifiers, usually preceding it. The most commonly used ones are :

/gomai/ extremely	/gomai surk/ extremely sour
/kəttəi/ very	/kəttəi rək/ very black
/wali/ very much	/gə tðro wali chacha tok/ I today very tired am Today I am very much tired. /wali mothðs/ very fat
/bōdi/ very much	/rañ bōdi suig nic/ Horse very red is The horse is very red.

/gðrðb/ very much    /pholðñ gðrðb thig nic/  
 fruit very/enough sweet is  
 The fruit is enough (very) sweet.

Intensification of an adjective is also effected by iterating it, e.g. /gaʔoc gaʔoc pyac/ small, small bird=very small birds. /suig suig gasa/ red red clothes=very red/deep red clothes.

### 9.9. SYNTACTIC ORDER

A noun phrase may have more than one adjectives. The order of such modifiers is fixed in certain combinations and free in others.

A. Normally, a numeral adjective precedes others, if there is one. But in case of an intensifier the numeral precedes it.

1. /məlthañu deñ id gaʔoc pyac toʔid du/  
 roof on one small bird seated is.  
 A small bird is sitting on the roof.
2. /boʔhañu den gaʔoc gaʔoc suig pyaca toʔid du/  
 tree (gen.) on small small red bird (pl.) sit (part.) to  
 be (pres.)  
 very small red birds are seated on the tree.
3. /gðs id moʔhes des røk kui tañok/  
 (I) (Ag.) one fat like black dog saw  
 I saw a fat like dog.
4. /gðs id kəttði røk kui tañok/khiok/  
 I (Ag.) one very black dog saw  
 I saw a very black dog.

B. Pronouns precede all others, including verb phrases or adjective phrases.

/zu dām chan/ this good boy.  
 /do teg lan/ that big cow  
 /zu šiʃid ran/ this dead horse.  
 /ðñ goʔoc chan/ my younger son  
 /kin teg bore/ your elder sister-in-law.

C. In case of two pronominal adjectives the possessive pronoun is placed immediately before the noun it modifies.

/zo añ mapo to/

that my maternal uncle is

He (distant) is my maternal uncle.



# X

## NUMERALS

Numerals in Kinnauri are modifiers. Syntactically, they share the position of occurrence with adjectives and are, therefore, a sub-category of it, but conventionally, they are treated separately because of their characteristic derivational patterns and their ordering. Formally, these can be sub-classified as under :

(a) Cardinals, (b) Ordinals, (c) Aggregatives, (d) Fractionals, (e) Multiplicatives, (f) Approximatives.

### 10.1. CARDINAL NUMERALS

The common forms of numerals from one to twenty are as follows :

id	one	sihid/sigid/sod	eleven
niš	two	soṇiš	twelve
sum/homo	three	sorum	thirteen
pə :	four	sapə:	fourteen
ña	five	soña	fifteen
ʈuk/tug	six	soruk/-g	sixteen
štiš/tišš	seven	səštiš	seventeen
rəy/rE	eight	sarəy—rE	eighteen
sgui/zgui/gui	nine	sosgui/sozgui	nineteen
səy/sE	ten	niza	twenty

(Of the above alternate forms, the first one belongs to standard Kinnauri of Kalpa and others to dialectal variations).

Chitkuli which is a distinct dialect of Kinnauri agrees with the standard forms except for the term for three, which in it is termed as /homo/. In others it has the alternate forms as noted above.

It may be evident from the above that the numbers from one to ten are simple and eleven to twenty complex. The mechanism evolved by Kinnauri for counting numbers from 11-19 is to use the appropriate allomorphs of the form 'ten' as the first member of the compound followed by forms for 1-9 as second member, but for 20 the order of composition is reversed, i.e. it becomes 'two tens'.

As in Munda, in Kinnauri, too, the basis for forming numerals higher than twenty is the term for 'twenty', i.e. it follows a vigesimal system for higher numerals. Consequently, 25 is /nizoña/ (20,5) and 30 is /nizosðy/ (20,10) and 31 /nizosi-hid/ (20, 11), 39 /nizososgui/ (20, 19), and 40 /nišniza/ (2, 20). Now upto 60 the term for 40 forms the first component and terms for 1-19 the second component. 60 is /sumniza/ (3, 20). Numbers from 61-79 and 81-99 are formed by using the allomorphs /nišnizo/ (60) and /pðnizo/ (80) as first members of the compounds. The term for 100 is /ra/. Thus the series 11-19, 21-39, 41-59, 61-79, 81-99 are formed by using appropriate allomorphs of the forms, 10, 20, 40, 60 and 80 as first member of the compound which are followed by terms for 1-9 with reference to 11-19, and 1-19 with reference to others.

In the process of compound formations these terms undergo various morphophonemic changes. The morphophonemically and lexically conditioned allomorphs of these terms are as under :

'one' /id~i~hid/

/id/ as a free form and as an adjective before an animate object.

/i/ as an adjective before an inanimate object or before the multiplicative suffix -ðñ, as in /iðñ/ once, /i añ/ a horse.

/hid/ after the allomorph /si/ of the numeral ten.

/səy/ 'ten', /sihid/ eleven.

/gid/ a dialectal variation, /sigid/ (L.K.)

'two' /niš~ni/

/niš/ as a free form and as a numeral adj.

/ni/ as a first member of a compound composition of numerals, /niza/ twenty.

/nira/ two hundred, /nijəb/ twice

two times, also /nišjəb/ a free variant of /nijəb/

'three' /sum~rum/

/sum/ as a free form and as a modifier

/sum chan/ three boys.

/rum/ as a second component of a compound numeral after /so/ an allomorph of /səy/ ten: /sorum/ thirteen. In Chitkuli it is /homo/.

'six' /tug/ as a free form and adjective,

as in /tug ran/ six horses;

/rug/ as a second component of a compound numeral after /so/, as in /sorug/~'soruk/ sixteen.

'nine' /sgui~sgu/

/sgui/ as a free form and adjective :

/sgui mi/ nine persons.

/sgu/ (in dialectal variations only)

as an adjective, /sgura :/ nine hundred.

'ten' /səy/~si~so~sə~sa~za/

/səy/ a free form and as an adjective,

/səy prac/ ten fingers.

/si/ as a first component of a compound numeral before /hid/ the allomorph of the morpheme /id/ 'one'.

/so/ as a first component of compound numerals before numerals 2, 3, 5, 6 and 9 as in /soniš/ 12, /sorum/ 13,

/sona/ 15, /soruk/ 16, /sosgui/ 19.

/sə/ as a first component of a compound composition before the numeral seven, as in /səštiš/ seventeen.

/sa/ as a first component of compound compositions before numerals 4, and 8, as in /sapə :/ 'fourteen', /sarəy/ eighteen.

/za/~/zo/ else where e.g. /niza/ 'twenty',  
 /nizoniš/ 22, nizosðy/ 30, /nišniza/ 40, nišnizosum/  
 43, etc. /nizo/ is an allomorph of /nizao/ when occurring  
 as a first component of a compound composition and  
 uttered in a quick tempo of speech, otherwise in a  
 carefully articulated speech it is /nizao/ 'twenty and'.

### 10.1.1. Table of Numerals

The table of integral cardinal numerals from 'one' to 'one hundred' is being given below for a ready reference. (Here the variant forms represent the dialectal variants of the standard form).

id/idd	One
niš	two
sum/summ	three
pð :	four
na	five
tuk/tugg	six
štiš/štišš	seven
rðy/rE	eight
sgui/gui zugi	nine
sðy/sE	ten
sihid/sigid/ sod	eleven
soniš	twelve
sorum	thirteen
sapð :	fourteen
soña	fifteen
soruk/-g	sixteen
sðštiš	seventeen
sarðy	eighteen
sosgui/sozgui	nineteen
niza	twenty
nizoid	twenty one
nizoniš	twenty two
nizosum	twenty three
nizopð :	twenty four
nizoña	twenty five

nizoʈuk	twenty six
nizoštiš	twenty seven
nizorðy	twenty eight
nizosgui	twenty nine
nizosðy	thirty
nizosihid/-gid	thirtyone
—soniš	thirty two
—sorum	thirty three
—sapð:	thirty four
—soṇa	thirty five
—soruk	thirty six
—soštiš	thirty seven
—sarðy	thirty eight
—sosgui/sozgui	thirty nine
—nišniza	forty
nisnizoid	forty one
—niš	forty two
—sum	forty three
—pð:	forty four
—ṇa	forty five
—ʈuk	forty six
—štiš	forty seven
—rðy	forty eight
—sgui/zgui	forty nine
—rðy	fifty
—sihid/-gid	fifty one
—soniš	fifty two
—sorum	fifty three
—şapð:	fifty four
—soṇa	fifty five
—soruk	fifty six
—sðštiš	fifty seven
—sarðy	fifty eight
—sosgui /-sozgui	fifty nine
sumniza	sixty
sumnizoid	sixty one
—niš	sixty two
—sum	sixty three
—pð:	sixty four

Sumniña	sixty five
—tuk	sixty six
—štis	sixty seven
—rðy	sixty eight
—sgui/zgui	sixty nine
—sðy	seventy
—sihid	seventy one
—soñiš	seventy two
—sorum	seventy three
—sapð:	seventy four
—saña	seventy five
—soruke-rug	seventy six
—sðštiš	seventy seven
—sarðy	seventy eight
—sosgui/sozgui	seventy nine
pðniza	eighty
pðnizoid	eighty one
—niš	eighty two
—sum	eighty three
—pð:	eighty four
—ña	eighty five
—tuk/tug	eighty six
—štiš	eighty seven
—rðy	eighty eight
—sgui/zgui	eighty nine
—sðy	ninety
—sihid	ninety one
—soñiš	ninety two
—sorum	ninety three
—sapð:	ninety four
—soña	ninety five
—soruk/-rug	ninety six
—sðštiš	ninety seven
—sarðy	ninety eight
—sosgui/sozgui	ninety nine
ra	hundred

From the above it may be evident that Kinnauri follows a vigesimal system in which the counting is done by twenties.

The nineteen numbers following any multiple of twenty are expressed by adding them to the term for twenty or its multiples numerals above hundred are counted as under :

(a) Numeral for round figures of hundred are formed simply by suffixing the term /ra/ 'hundred' to the intended series from 1 to 9, e.g. /ra/~/ira/ hundred, /nira/ two hundred, /sumra/ three hundred, /sguira/ nine hundred, etc. For 'one hundred' the unqualified term /ra/ 'hundred' by itself i.e. without /i/ 'one' is usually used.

(b) Numerals above the series of hundred are formed by adding the specific figure to the term for hundred in question with the help of a connective, viz. /o/, e.g. /raoid/ one hundred and one, /raonizao ña/ 'one hundred and twenty five, =125, /ñarao nisnizaosðy/ 'five hundred and forty and ten' =550. In such a construction the vocalic sequence a+o is usually amalgamated into /o/ in a quick tempo of speech.

The unit above hundred is /hðzar/ 'thousand'. Units higher to this are rarely used or needed by common folk. In case there is a need they are borrowed either from the Indo-Aryan system, (e.g. *lakh*, *karor*) or from the Tibetan system, *stan* 'ten thousand', *thi* 'one lac' etc. Figures above thousand are always counted in thousands, hundreds and units, not in hundreds, e.g. 1560 will be referred to as /id hazaro ñarao sumniza/ 'one thousand and five hundred and three twenties'.

## 10.2. ORDINALS

The use of ordinals is very very limited in all the dialects of Kinnauri. The only ordinals attested in our data are *omsya* first, and *aisya* second/another; *sumsya* third. The usual way of expressing ordinals higher than three is to say 'next to so and so' i.e. 4th is 'next to three', so on and so forth, or just to use the cardinal number, as in /štiš mi/ seventh person (lit, seven man), /ña chañ/ 5th boy (lit, five boy) etc. In some dialects (as in Thôñe-Moorañ) the expression /zaubalen/ also is used for 'first'.

## 10.3. AGGREGATIVE NUMERALS

The normal suffix to express the aggregation of numerals is /ki/, as in *niski* both, *sumki* all the three (upto three only), others have only emphatic particle, or all, e.g. /niši nišmi nasom bōtic/ both of us (inclusive) will come tomorrow, /doga naki beoš/ all the five had gone. /štiši zatōka/ should I eat all the seven ? With regard to /-ki/ the language makes a distinction between human and non-human objects. It is suffixed to human objects only, others have an /i/, as in /niški/ both (human) : /niši/ both (non.) /sumki/ (Hum.) : /sumi/  $\phi$  (non.) This distinction is maintained with regard to 'all' as well, as in /cōiki/ all (Hum.) : /cōi/all (non-human.).

## 10.4. INDEFINITE NUMERALS

Indefinite numerals are also derived ones, and are formed variously, e.g. /ide/ some ; /ide khau zao du/ some people are taking their food, /ceiki/ all : /ceiki bio bio du/ all persons have gone. The non-human correspondent of /ceiki/ 'all' is /cei/.

## 10.5. DISTRIBUTIVE

It is expressed in terms of /cōiko/ each, every, as in /cōiko i i raṇa du/ every one has a horse.

## 10.6. MULTIPLICATIVE NUMERALS

There are suffixes, viz. *jōb~berañ~mya* 'times' and *guna* 'times or fold' added to the cardinal forms of the numerals, to express the sense of 'times' or 'fold', e.g. /imya~ijōb/ once. /nišjōb~nišberañ/ twice, /sumjōb~sumberañ/ thrice, /sumba/ three-fold. These forms are used with reference to time ; but with reference to quantity they are /nišguna/ two times, /sumguna/ three times, /ṇamya/ five times. There is also a term /he/ which is used as a free variant of /nišberañ/ twice. The term for 'once', however, takes the suffix /iḍṇ/ as in /-ḍṇ/ 'once'.



/niñonda kinonoc nišguna rima to/  
 we have two times more land (fields) than you.  
 /anda kinonoc sumguna rupya to/  
 I have three times more money than you.

### 10.7. APPROXIMATIVE NUMERALS

In this language the approximation is expressed by using the item for the specific numeral followed by the term /halam/ 'about', e.g. /dðñ halam niza raña du/ There were about twenty horses'.

The approximative phrase is also formed by using a set of two numerals in a consecutive order or in a random order. In such constructions the order of numerals, invariably is an ascending one. /dðñ halam ña-ʈug migo due/ There were about five six persons. /añu sE-soña rupya keñ/ Please give me some ten-fifteen rupees'.

/ʈug-tiš/six-seven, /soña-niza/ fifteen-twenty, /ðai niza ra/ fifty-hundred (only ascending, no descending like Hindi sɔ-pðcas) /niš-sum/ two-three, not two-four.

### 10.8. FRACTIONAL NUMERALS

The most commonly used fractional numerals in Kinnauri are  $1/4$ ,  $1/2$ ,  $1\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $2\frac{1}{2}$ . Out of these the first three are monomorphemic and the last two polymorphemic. The fractionals above 'one and a quarter' are formed by using the intended full number plus /is/followed by the intended fractional term. for 'half' or 'quarter'. These may be shown as under :

paw	One fourth/one quarter
adðñ	half/one half
sôwa	one and a quarter
idis adðñ	one and a half
nišis adðñ	two and a half.

Fractional terms like, 'one third, two thirds, three fourths'

etc. are not in common use. If necessary these can be formed like 'third part' etc.

Fractionals above two are formed by prefixing /səwa/ a quarter and /saɕe/ to the number intended : /səwaniš/ two and a quarter, /səwana/ five and a quarter, /saɕe sum/ three and a half, /saɕe tug/ six and a half.

### 10.9. MEASUREMENTS

Measurements of area, length etc. is expressed in the following terms and manners.

- (i) /gud/. It stands for the length from elbow to the finger tips of a hand.
- (ii) /ɖansa/ It denotes the length from the thumb point to the little finger point in a stretched hand.
- (iii) /prac/ It indicates the space covered by one or more fingers : *i prac* one finger, *niš prace* two fingers.
- (iv) /tanɖa/ Land is usually measured in terms of /bigha/ /bisva/. Estimation of total land is done by /tanɖa/ 'ploughable by one pair of oxen in one day' : /itanɖa/ one days, /sum tanɖa/three days, etc.

### 10.10. COUNTING OF AGE

The calculation of age is done by means of /bəšəñ/ or /lo/ year, there being no word for 'age' in it. e.g. /kin thə bəšəñ~lo/ what is your age (lit. what is your year ?). /gə niš niza bəšəñ tok/ I am forty years (old.).

## XI

### VERBAL SYSTEM

The class of words designated as verbs on the basis of their morpho-syntactic functions is very rich in all the languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group, particularly, from the point of its inflectional system, involving distinctions of tense, aspect, voice, mood, number, and person. No gender distinction is, however, manifested there.

The criteria for designating this classe of words as verbs may be enumerated as under :

- (a) syntactically occurring as head of a predicate,
- (b) accepting tense and aspect markers.
- (c) accepting imperative and subjunctive suffixes,
- (d) accepting participial and gerundial suffixes.

#### 11.1. VERB ROOT

A verb root in Kinnauri may be simple, or complex. A root is obtained by dropping the infinitive or verbal noun marker /-mig~mu/. It can be a monosyllabic or a polysyllabic, and may end in a vowel or a consonant :

/khyā-/ see, /či-/ wash, /si-/ die, /tuñ-/ drink, /yab-/ fly, /kušya-/ wipe, /sṛsi-/ rise, /somcḍn-/ think, /suren-/ move in a circle, etc.

Besides the native roots, it has also borrowed a few roots from the neighbouring Indo-Aryan dialects, e.g. /dḍbya-/ to bury, to be buried, /kḍmaya-/ to earn, /uchelen-/ to jump, /bḍjeya-/ to play on (music), /cḍmken-/ to shine, /ḍuben-/ to sink, etc.

#### 11.1.1. Classification of Verb Roots

All verbal stems/roots, primary or derived, forming the bases of various verbal constructions, are divisible into two syntactically distinguishable categories, viz. transitive and intransitive. The most prominently distinguishing syntactic aspect of these stems is this that the subject of a transitive verb (in the past) is invariably in the ergative or agentive case and that of the intransitive in the direct or nominative case (except a few exceptions). Besides, a transitive stem also has a scope for having a substantive, other than the subject, as a legitimate object of it, with specific case markers and occupying a specific syntactic position in the utterance.

#### 11.1.2. Transitive and Intransitive Stems

Basically, Kinnauri is a language in which, as in many languages of this group, all notions are expressed with specific stems, there being very little scope for derived stems. As such, in it, a verb stem is either transitive or intransitive, though in a few instances some mechanism for transitivization also is attested. These may be illustrated as under :

(a) *Transitive Stems* : /khyā-/ see, /za-/ eat, /lan-/ do, /thḍs-/ hear, /či-/ wash, /tuñ-/ drink, /rḍn-/ give, etc.

(b) *Intransitive Stems* : /bi-/ go, /bḍ-/ come, /yḍg-/ sleep, /wḍn-/ laugh, /ši-/ die, /sṛsi-/ rise.

(c) *Parallel sets of transitive and intransitive stems* : As stated above, there is no inbuilt system of deriving transitive or intransitive stems from each other. In most of cases there are separate roots for parallel sets :

<i>Transitive</i>	<i>Intransitive</i>
khya- (to) see	(zañ- (to) show
skor- (to) fell	ḍan- (to) fall
thu- (to) raise	sḍrsi- (to) rise
ša- (to) kill	ši- (to) die
ṭḍg- (to) break	rḍg- (to) break itself
ston- (to) make to sit	toš- (to) sit.

### 11.1.3. Transitivity

The only mechanism of transitivity, which this language has inherited from Tibetan, is to devoice the initial consonant of the intransitive stem to make it a transitive.

<i>Intransitive</i>	<i>Transitive</i>
/bḍrmig/ to be burnt	/pḍrmig/ to burn
/bramig/ to be spread	/pramig/ to spread
/bḍšmig/ to be split, to burst	/phḍlmig/ to split, burst
/donmig/ to come out	/tonmig/ to put out
/doṇmig/ to be opened	/toṇmig/ to open

## 11.2. COMPOSITION OF VERB STEMS

As stated above, all stems, in Kinnauri are basic or primary. There is hardly any scope for derived stems, except for a few passive and causative stems (see 11.8.9). Various notions, otherwise expressed by derived verbal stems in other languages, are expressed periphrastically in it, usually in the form of noun/adjective/verb/adverb + verb.

### *Noun + Verb*

githañ lannu	to sing (=song + do)
rḍnekḍñ lannu	to marry (=marriage + do)
galya rannu	to abuse (=abuse + give)

### *Adjective + Verb*

gaṭoc lannu	to shorten (small + do)
dam lancemu	to serve (good + do)
laṭḍñ rannu	to befool (fool + give)

*Verb + Verb*

lano tamu	to continue (do + remain)
lanim sennig	to make to do (do + engage)

*Adverb + Verb*

komo hacimu	to arrest (inside + become)
sgom hacimu	to bend (down + become)

**11.2.1. Denominative Stems**

The only class of derived stems in Kinnauri is that of denominatives, which are derived from nominal and adjectival stems by adding formative suffixes to them. The commonly used suffixes are : /-en, -ya/ :

jitennu	to win	<jit	victory
harennu	to be defeated	<har	defeat
coryamu	to steal	<cor	a thief
ṭhōgyamu	to deceive	<ṭhōg	a deceit
juṛyamu	to join	<jor	a joint
napyamu	to measure	<nap	measurement

(all from the Indo-Aryan stock)

**11.2.2. Compound Verbal Stems**

The notion of various modes and aspects of verbal constructions is expressed by compound verbal stems. Important verbal stems forming the second component of compound formations are :

/šennig/ to cause, to send, to put, /h<sup>2</sup>n-/ to be able, /byo/ to go (past), /stuši/ to begin, /lθ-rθ/ to do, /ni-/ to remain, to be, /du/ to be, /to-/ to be (for examples see perfect and imperfect, causative constructions).

Besides, repetition of the first member of the compound verb also takes place in various verbal constructions, as in /byo byo tak/ I have gone there, /tuño tuño duc/ he drank continuously.

**11.3. CLASSIFICATION OF VERB FORMS**

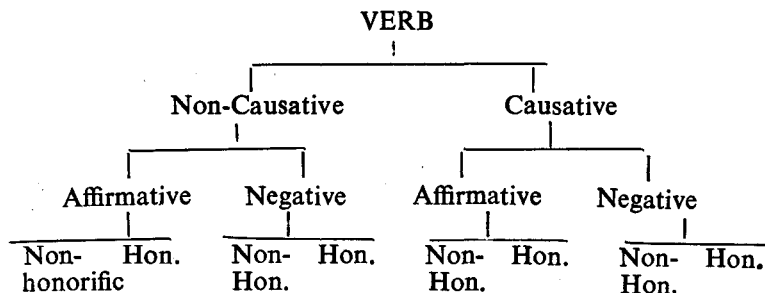
Firstly all verb forms can be classified as finite and non-

finite, distinguishable by taking suffixes for various grammatical categories, viz. tense-aspect-mood-number and person in the former case, and by taking suffixes for non-tense-aspect oriented categories in the latter case.

In Kinnauri the former class is further divisible into a number of sub-categories based on various morphosemantic factors. These sub-systems may be termed as affirmative, negative, causative, passive, honorific etc. The verbal categories covered by the non-finite group are, participles, verbal nouns, infinitives etc. which will be discussed in appropriate sections of this analysis.

#### 11.4. SUB-SYSTEMS

Kinnauri, like many other Tibeto-Himalayan languages has an elaborate sub-system of verbal conjugation. Firstly, these can be patternized as causative and non-causative. The non-causative has further sub-divisions into affirmative and negative, and non-honorific and honorific, extendable to the causative system as well. Schemetically this classification can be presented as under :



In honorific & non-honorific system the distinction is indicated by means of respective personal suffixes and in negative systems by means of negative particles which brings in structural changes in the verb form, particularly in future tense and imperative mood forms. In the future the verb form usually undergoes contraction when negativised. Details of this phenomenon of negative constructions will be discussed at appropriate places in the ensuing sections.

## 11.5. AFFIRMATIVE SYSTEM

Morphologically all finite verb forms are analysable in terms of tense-aspect parameters of the following categories.

### 11.5.1. Tense and Aspects

All finite verbal stems in Kinnauri attest a three way tense distinction, *viz.* present, past and future times, overtly marked by their respective tense markers. But the aspect categories are not very distinct in it. Basically, there is no distinction between progressive and non-progressive aspects in it. Although in principle there is a scope for two distinct forms of these two aspects of a finite verb, yet in a colloquial form of speech both of them are expressed by their respective non-progressive forms in all the tenses, e.g. /gə zak/ means both 'I eat' and 'I am eating'. But, on the otherhand, it shows a clear distinction between completive and non-completive or present vs. non-present forms of it. This will be illustrated in the relevant sections.

Further in this speech a distinction in verbal forms is also made with respect to definiteness or indefiniteness to an action taking place *vis-a-vis* the speaker, *i.e.* whether the speaker is definite about the happening of the action in question or not, or whether he himself has seen or experienced it or he has a secondary information about it.

### 11.5.2. Mechanism of Tense Formation

There are specific temporal suffixes to indicate temporal categories of a verb form. These are affixed to verb stems and are followed by other morphological markers. As such the constituents of a finite verb form are : Root+tense marker+person and number suffix. In case of a pronominal object of the 1st and/or 2nd person it is infixed in between the root and the tense marker (see. 11.7 (1 (e) ; 7.2 (e), 7.3 (c). The root may be followed directly by an aspect suffix, in this case the object marker is dropped. Personal termination, in many environments are not so necessary.

In modal forms, these suffixes are added to the stem of the modal verb. A bare root stands for imperative in second



person. The examples of various forms of tenses and modes may be illustrated as below :

/ram tuŋc/	Ram drinks
/ram tuŋc to/	Ram is drinking.
/ram tuŋsid/	Ram drank.
/ram tuŋsid dug/	Ram had drunk.
/ram tuŋo dug/	Ram was drinking.
/ram tuŋto/	Ram will drink.
/ram tuŋnəmseto/	Ram will cause to drink.
/ram tuŋəm hənce/	Ram is able to drink.

Paradigmatically, though a verbal stem can be inflected for 13 finite forms in non-present tenses, but structurally, a formal distinction is available for 7 forms only. The 13 forms, showing syntactic correlation are :

- (i) 1st person 5: Sg. 1+du. and pl. 2 each (one inclusive and one exclusive)=5.
- (ii) 2nd person 4 : Sg. 2 (1 ordinary+honorific)+1 du.+1 pl.=4.
- (iii) 3rd person 4 : Sg. 2 (1 ordinary+1 hon.)+1 du.+1 pl.=4.

The representation of these 13 forms by 7 distinct forms is as under :

- (i) /-č/ : 1st person dual and pl. (excl.) and 2nd person dual and plural have only one sign, viz. /č/
- (ii) /-iñ~e/ : 1st person inclusive du. and pl.
- (iii) /-k,-g/ : 1st person sg.
- (iv) /-n/ : 2nd person sg. (non. hon.)
- (v) /-ñ/ : 2nd person sg. (hon.)
- (vi) /-t/d/φ/ : 3rd person sg. (non. hon.)
- (vii) /-š/ : 3rd sg. (hon.) and dual and plural.

In the present tense indicative mood all the forms except 1st sg. are represented by indeclinable suffix /č/ only. In the past tense we have three alternants, viz. /t~d~φ/ for the 3rd sg. Schemetically, these may be presented as under :

Person	Sg.	du-	pl.
I	-k	-č	-č (excl.)
	-	ič/-e	-č/e (incl.)
II	-n	-	-(ordinary)
	-ñ	-č	-č (honorific)
III	-φ/t/d	-	-(ordinary)
	-š	-š	-š (hon.)

These may be illustrated as under :

/ne:/ to know (past tense/

/neok/ I knew.

/neon/ you (hon.) knew, we (incl. du. pl.) knew

/ne:oc/ you (sg.) (non-hon.) knew.

/ne:oc/ you (pl.) and we (excl. du. pl.) knew

/neoš/ he/she (hon. sg. du. pl.) knew

/neo/ he/she (non-hon. sg.) knew

It may be interesting to note that personal suffixes are the most important characteristic feature of Kinnauri. These alone determine the given verb form with regard to its number and person, and partly its tense and mood also. Moreover, these endings are partly or wholly different for different tenses and moods.

#### 11.5.4. Number Suffixes

In standard Kinnauri a verbal root is inflected for two numbers only, viz. singular and plural and that too for specific forms of tenses and moods only. For the plural number too, it is inflected if its subject is a pronoun.

/gə byok/ I went

/niši byoč/ we (two) went (excl.)

/niña byoč/ we (pl.) „ „

Otherwise there is no change either in the forms of the principle verb or the aux. :

/dekhracəs checacu khyao/ (a) boy saw (a) girl

- /checacos dekhraconu khyao/ girls saw the boys.  
 /i damäs či zau du/ an ox is eating grass.  
 /niš dama či zau du/ two oxen are eating grass.  
 /muluk dama či zau du/ many oxen are eating grass.  
 /pyaca pakhañas yabc du/ birds fly with wings.

In such a case the numeral modifier or qualifier itself serves the purpose of the plurality to be conveyed by the verb form.

#### 11.5.5. Object Suffixes

The verb structure in Kinnauri, besides the personal suffixes standing for the subject of the verb, also allows in transitive verbs incorporation of suffixes which stand for pronominal objects. These suffixes are infixes in between the stem and the tense person suffixes. In standard Kinnauri, the object suffix for the 1st and second pronouns is /-c/ and for the third person is /-t/ :

- /ke-cə -k/ I will give you  
 /ke-cə -n/ You will give me/us  
 /ke-tə -k/ I will give him/them  
 /ke-tə -n/ You will give him/them.

#### 11.6. VERB-SUBSTANTIVE

In Kinnauri the verb substantive has three bases, out of these two, viz. /to-/ and /du-/ are regular and one, viz. /ni/ is irregular, all meaning 'to be'. All these have a dual character, i.e. these can be used as independent verbs and also as auxiliaries. In latter form these follow the principal verb and are followed by tense, number and person markers. In a normal course of speech the tense aspect oriented forms of /du-/ occur with 3rd person, non-honorific and with inanimate subjects and that of /to-/ with first, second and 3rd (hon.) and animate subjects, though this distinction is not always strictly adhered to. But /ni-/ is in a complementary distribution with both of these, i.e. these occur in non-future tenses and /ni/-else where.

In fact, /ni-/ is an independent verb root, meaning, 'to remain, but forms the base for future tense with the stem /to-/. Thus the use of /du-/ and /to-/ is confined to the present and past tenses only. Other tenses are supplied from the basis, /hac-/ (to) become, /ni-/ (to) remain, /toš-/ to sit, to be etc. The present past and future tense forms of all these may be presented as below :

## Verb Root/du-/to be

## (I) Present tense

<i>Singular</i>		<i>Dual</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
<i>Non-hon.</i>	<i>Hono- rific</i>	<i>Non- Hon.</i>	<i>Hono- rific</i>	<i>Non. Hon-</i>	<i>Hon.</i>
1st duk/-g	—	duč	—	duč	— Excl.
			—	duč	= Incl.
2nd dun	duñ	duč	duñ	duč	duñ
3rd du	duš	du	duš	du	duš

## (II) Past tense

1st duek	—	dueč		dueč	
2nd duen	dueñ	dueč		dueč	dugič
3rd due/ dug	dueš	due	dueš	dug	dueš

## Verb root/to/

## (I) Present tense

1st tok/tøk	—	toč	—	toč	Excl.
—g		toč		tič	Incl.
2nd ton	—tiñ	toč	toñ/tiñ	toč	tiñ
3rd to	toš	toč	toš	toč	toš

(II) *Past tense*

1st	teg/ tokeg tokek	—	teč/tokeč	—	teč/tokeč	—Excl.
			te/toke	—	te/toke	—Incl.
2nd	ten/ token	teñ/ tokeñ	teš/tokeč	teñ/ tokeñ	ten/ tokeč	teñ/ tokeñ
3rd	toc/ toke	teš/ tokeš	toč/toke	teš/ tekeš	teš/ tekeš	teš/ tokeš

---

Future tense/ni-/						
1st	nitok	—	nitoč nitič	—	nitoč nitič	—Excl. —Incl.
2nd	niton	nitiñ	nitoč	nitič	nitoč	nitič
3rd	nito	nitiš	nito	nitiš	nito	nitiš

11.7. USES AND FORMATIONS OF TENSES  
AND ASPECTS

Various syntactic uses of tenses and aspects and the process of their formations may be explained in the following sections.

11.7.1. *Present Tense*

In a normal speech behaviour Kinnauri does not strictly distinguish between non-progressive and progressive aspects of a verb form, both active and passive. As such the continuous forms are indiscriminately used for indefinite forms. Besides, these forms also denote a habitual action. But it does make a distinction between completive and non-completive aspects of it.

(a) *Present indefinite*

The inflectional base of the present indefinite is the bare root itself. It has two formative suffixes, viz. /-č~-d : Their distribution is as under :

/-č/ : It is added to verb roots ending in other than in /-si/ or /-ci/ (verb roots ending in n, frequently drop this n before

this suffix). It is an indeclinable suffix and stands for all numbers and persons :

/loc/ 'I~we~you~they say' </lonmig/ to say.

/zac/ eats~eat </zaming/ to eat.

/tuñc/ drinks~drink </tuñmig/ to drink.

/khyac/ sees, see </khyamig/ to see

/lanc/ does, do </lanmig/ to do

/wêc/ laughs, laugh </wênnig/ to laugh.

In these forms the distinction of number and person is indicated by the number and person of the subject of it, e.g. /gð loc/ I say, /niña loc/ we say.

/-d/ : Verbal stems ending /-si/ or /-ci/ take the indeclinable suffix, /-d/, e.g.

/tošid/ sits, sit </tošimig/ to sit, to dwell.

/khucid/ steals, steal </khucimig/ to steal

/roncid/ hears, hear </roncimig/ to hear.

/khyacid/ sees, see </khyacimig/ to see.

/hacid/ becomes, become </hacimig/ to become.

In the Sangla-Nichar variety of it, the indeclinable suffix /-č/ is realized as /-z/ as well, after verb roots ending in /-a, -ñ, -l/ as in /zaz/, /tuñz/, /yðlz/, etc. Sometimes the present time is also indicated simply by adding personal terminations to the participle base of the verb /šioḡ/ I die, or am dying ; /hodo zao/ he eats, is eating ; /dogo bio/ they go, are going.

#### (b) *Present continuous*

Present continuous forms, standing for both progressive and non-progressive aspects of the present time are formed by adding respective present tense forms of the verb substantivised /to-/ and /du-/, to the present participle base of the verb concerned.

/gð bio tog/ I go, I am going.

/do lodo du/ he says, he is saying.

/kð bio dun/ you go, you are going.

/gð bðdotok/ I am coming.

/dogo zao duš/ he (hon.) they eat, are eating.

/ki hamc bədo duñi/ where are you coming from ?

/gə tero šupa ðn kimo bioduk/ I am going home today evening.

/doga phenakci kamðn lanoduš/ they are working for a long time.

/chañ khau zao du/ the child is taking meals.

/chaña khau zao duš~zac du/ children are taking meals.

### (c) *Periphrastic present*

Besides the indeclinable present, illustrated above, Kinnauri also resorts to periphrastic constructions, may be under the influence of neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages. In such a construction various forms of the verb substantive /du-/ are added to the indeclinable present indefinite form of the verb concerned. /zac du/ he eats (non-hon.), /zac duš/ he (hon.) eats, they eat, /nic du/ he lives, /nic duñ/ you (sg.) live, /tuñc duk/ I drink, /yabc du/ he/that flies, /cic dus/ he (hon ) washes, /unc du/ makes to do.

/do chañu kulc du/ he is beating the child.

/ama chañu kherðn ranc du/ mother gives~is giving milk to the child.

/pyaca pakhañs yabc du/ birds fly~is flying with wings.

/do chañu dwakc kamðn unc du/ he takes the work from the child (causative).

/nu dešano tetra miga nic du/ how many people like in that village ?

machðs tio nic du/ fish lives/live in water.

### (d) *Present perfect*

For all practical purposes present perfect is a past event in Kinnauri. Therefore, it is effected by all forms and processes used to effect various forms of the past tense. These may be presented as under :

#### (i) Past indefinite or simple past :

/do yəga/ he has slept.

/ki dillic anuñ chə krañi/

what have you brought for me from Delhi ?

/gə hədðne ki tañes gasa krak/  
 I have brought clothes for you from there.  
 /paʈhu sugro sugro həcis/  
 The pitcher has gone to pieces.  
 /ðn kamðn həcis, pðr kin ma həcis/  
 my work has been done, but your not.

(ii) Root + sid (past passive suffix) + du (aux.) +  $\phi$

(tense suffix) + personal endings.

/bðsid duk/ I have come.  
 /tuñsid dun/ You have drunk.  
 /khyasid dug/ he was seen.  
 /tošis du/ he is seated.  
 /boʈhañu den id pyac tošis du/  
 a bird is seated on the tree.

(iii) Conjunctive participle base + aux. (du-/~/to/ 'to be' ;

/gðs omsi zupðn lan lan tok/  
 I have already finished it.  
 /rimano ti bðn bðn du/  
 water is filled in the fields.  
 /niño niñanu kamðn lan lan toc/  
 we have finished our work.  
 /gð tðro wal yðl yðl tok/  
 I am very much tired today.  
 /kis zu thðd lan lan duñi/.  
 What have you done this ?

In this case, sometimes, the perfective sense is conveyed by the use of the mere conjunctive participle as well.

/bð:bð:/ he, they, you, I, we have come.  
 /zaza/ he, they, you, I, we have eaten.  
 /añu kamðn lano lano berðn bi bi/  
 It has become late while doing the work.

(e) *Object infixation*

In case of a pronominal object of the 1st and 2nd person it is infixed in between the verb stem and the tense-person markers ;



/do khyac/ he sees him/them  
 /dogo khyac/ they see him/them.  
 /do khyacid/ he sees me/us/you/  
 /ki khyañ/ you (hon.) see him.  
 /ki khyacid/ you (hon.) see me/us.

In periphrastic constructions, too, it follows the same pattern :

/khyao du/ you are seeing him.  
 /khyaci du/ he is seeing you.  
 /khyaatok/ I am seeing him.  
 /khyaciduk/ I am seeing you.  
 /khyaton/ You are seeing him.  
 /khyaciduñ/ You (hon.) are seeing me.

### 11.7.2. Past Tense

There are two categories of past events in Kinnauri, (1) observed, (2) reported. The former is indicative of an action that has taken place before the present time and the latter is to report of an action of which the speaker has only a second hand knowledge, i.e. it is mostly used to refer to actions that took place in the distant or hoary past and of which the speaker has only a secondary information.

(a) *Formation* : The normal structure of the simple past is, verbal stem/base + formative suffix + personal terminations. Formative suffixes and personal terminations of it can be presented as below :

Person	Sg.	Pl.
I	-k -g	-č
II (non-hon.)	-n(ord.)	-č
(hon.)	-ñ(hon.)	-č
III (non-hon.)	-o~a~e~s~d~da~sid	-š
(hon.)	-š(hon.)	-š

(b) *Distribution of formative suffixes* : There are two types of formative suffixes in the past tense, (i) declinable, (ii) indeclinable. Suffixes of the former type are used for

a simple past and of the latter type for the passive past. Important alternants of the 3rd person singular number are : /o~a~e~es~s~da~d~sid/. The distribution of these allomorphs is as under :

/-o-/ : It is identical with present participle formative and is attached to stems ending in a front vowel or a velar nasal, /bio/ he went, /bioš/ they went. /khiok~khyak/ I saw, /io~iyo/ he asked, /iyoš/ they asked /tuño/ I drank, /tuñot/ he drank, /rino/ gave, /lano/ did, but also /krabo/ wept, cried. /ḍekhracis checacu khio~khyao/ the boy saw the girl.

/-a/ : Primarily it is attested with stems ending in a consonant. In some cases, particularly with the velar nasal, it occurs in free variation with /-o/.

(yḍga/ slept <yḍgmig to sleep  
/lana/ did <lanmig to do  
/thasa/ heard <thasmig to hear  
/rina/ said <rinmig to say,

In cases of free variations with /-o/ it has been noted that the standard variety favours the formative suffix /-a/ and others favour /-o/ : /ḍəs rino~rina/ he said.

/-s-/ : This formative suffix occurs with stems ending in /-ci/ or /-si/ :

/rocis/ heard </roncimig/ to hear  
/hacis/ became </hacimig/ to become  
/khucis/ stole </khucimig/ to steal  
/khyacis/ met </khyacimig/ to meet, to see each other.

/-e/ : It occurs in free various with forms of /-s/ in which it takes the place of the final vowel /-i/ with the elision of /-s/, as in /khyace/ met, /khuce/ stole, /huse/ read, also /husis/, /toše~tošis/ sat, etc. It is also attested before the first person marker /-k/ : /bosek/ I forgot, /tošek/ I sat, etc.

/-d-/ : It occurs with stems ending in an unrounded back vowel viz. /a/ :

/khyad/ he saw <khyamig to see  
/zad/ ate <zamig to eat

In dialectal variations it varies with formatives /-o/ and /-s/ as well : /khyao~khyas/ he saw.

/-da/ : It is a compounded formative, consisting of /d-/ and /-a/, and is especially attested with stems ending in a dental nasal, /-n/, which is usually elided before the suffix /-da/ :

/b̥da/	came	<b̥nnig	to come
/w̥da/	laughed	<wennig	to laugh
/pida/	closed	<pinning	to close
/šeda/	sent	<šennig	to send
/toda/	be-came ill	<tonnig	to become
/poreda/	obtained	<porennig	to obtain.

/sid/ : It is an indeclinable past-passive suffix and is used with simple past tense forms as well. As a free variant of other suffixes it can be used with all verbal stems : /zasid/ ate, /isid/ asked, /ke:sid/ gave (he), /losid/ said (he), /b̥sid/ came, /byosid/ went, /terañ kam̥ñ chekyasid, khau zasid/ 'When the work finished (we) ate the food'.

/chanis kitab huse~huses/ the boy read a book.

/sitas ramu dwak̥ ðm ioi~sid/ Sita asked Ram about the way.

In stems ending in -n, the -n is dropped before the suffix /-sid/ : /r̥sid/ sold </r̥nnig/ to sell, /rasid/ did </ranmig/ to do, /b̥sid/ came </b̥nnig/ to come. /šasid/ killed </šannig/ to kill, /stosid/ made seated </stonnig/ to make to sit.

/-gya~gyo/ : It is added to verbal stems to indicate the sense of remote past or reported past :

/langyo/	(he) did	</lannig/	to do
/b̥ngyo/	„ came	</b̥nnig/	to come
/cigyo/	„ washed	</cimig/	to washed
/bigyo/	„ went	</bimig/	to go
/igyo/	„ asked	</imig/	to ask
/cegyo/	„ wrote	</cemig/	to write

Consequently, there is a semantic difference between /lana/ he did (observed past) and /langyo/ he did (reported past), /iya/ asked and /igyo/ asked.

In Kinnauri past indefinite is expressed by using conjunct participle + past tense forms of the aux : /du/ ;

/dɔri ʒðŋ bðnnu gyagya duge/  
he wanted to come here day-before-yesterday.

According to Bailey (1938 : 88) the past tense formative in Lower Kinnauri is *gyidk/gidk* which are added to the verb root. After vowels and voiceless consonant the suffixial -g. is realized as -k. /bðkidk/ went < /bðmu/ to go, /roʃit kidk/ got angry, /nigidk/ remained < /nimu/ to remain, etc.

(c) *Past Continuous* : Formation of a past continuous is similar to that of the present continuous, i.e., it is obtained by adding respective past tense forms of the aux. /du/~/to/ to the present participial base of the principle verb.

/bio due/ he was going  
/zao dueʃ/ he (hon.) was eating, they were eating.  
/bðdɔ dueñ/ you (sg.) were coming  
/ki hatu kudo tokeñ/ whom were you calling ?  
/do ecci bðdɔ due/ he was coming alone  
/doga niʃ miga bðdɔ dueʃ/ dugiʃ  
They two were coming.  
/do toʃis due/ he was seated  
/niña tuño tokeč/ dueč/ we (incl.) were drinking.  
/gðs toño tokek/ I was beating, striking.  
/neyo duek/ I was understanding.  
/gʒs ʒʒša tokek/ I was killing  
/dugo tuño tokeš/ he (hon.) was drinking.  
/tuño due/ he was drinking.

(d) *Past Perfect* : The sense of the completion of an action in the past is conveyed in different ways in Kinnauri. These may be explained and illustrated as follows :

(i) by using simple past tense forms :

/nane me ʒðŋ bð:ʃ/

The material aunt had come (= came) here yesterday.

(ii) by past participle forms + past tense forms of the aux.  
to be (for past participles see 11.14.5).

/toʃis due/	he was seated
/tonsid dug/	he had struck
/tonsid dun/	you (sg.) had struck

/bəs̩id duk/	I had come
/tuṃsid dugič̣/	you (hon.) had drunk.

(iii) Conjunctive participle + past tense forms of the aux. 'to be'.

/khyā khyā duck toc̣əḳ/	I had seen you.
/khyā khyā dugic̣ tocic̣/	we (excl.) had seen you.
/ki tuṃ tuṃ tokēñ̃/	you had drunk.
/gə̌ bə̌b̌ə̌ toc̣əḳ/	I had come.
/tuṃtuṃ toc̣əñ/	You (sg.) had drunk.

(e) *Object Infixation* : The first and the second person pronominal objects are infixed in between the stem and the tense-person marker suffixes :

/dos khyad/	he saw him.
/dos khyacid/	he saw me/us/you.
/gə̌s̩ khyaḳ/	I saw him.
/gə̌s̩ khyac̣əḳ/	I saw you
/kə̌s̩ khyañ/	you (sg.) saw him.
/kis khyac̣əñ̃/	you (hon.) saw me/us.

### 11.7.3. Future Tense

Future tense forms are used to refer to an action that is scheduled to occur or is likely to take place in the future time. The indicative forms of the future tense are formed in two ways :

(i) by adding respective future tense forms of the aux. verb /to-/ 'to be', to the bare root of the verb, (ii) by adding suffixes (with morphophonemic adjustments) to the verb root and respective personal ending to them.

In the former case they are directly suffixed to the verb root, but in latter case they are affixed to the verb root after dropping the stem final vowel. Structurally, the verbal stems in the former type are monomorphemic and in the latter type polymorphemic, always ending in *-si* or *-ci*. Various forms of the auxiliary /to-/ and the suffixes, including personal terminations, are as under :

## (i) Forms of aux. /to-/

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Dual</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
	<i>ord.</i>	<i>hon.</i>	<i>ord.</i>	<i>hon.</i>	<i>ord.</i>	<i>hon.</i>
III	to	tiš	to	tiš	to	tiš
II	ton/ten	tiñ	toč	toč	toč	tič
I	tok/tog	—	toč		toč	Excl.
				te/tič	tič/te	Incl.

(ii) Suffixal forms, added to verb stems ending in *-si* and *-ci*, in which the final vowel is dropped.

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Dual</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
	<i>Ord.</i>	<i>hon.</i>	<i>Ord.</i>	<i>hon.</i>	<i>Ord.</i>	<i>hon.</i>
III	—o	—iš	—o	—iš	—o	—iš
II	—on/ðn	—iñ	—oč	—ič	—oč	—ič
I	—og/ok	—	—oč	—	—oč	—Excl.
			—ič	—	—ič	—Incl.

(a) *Distribution of allomorphs* : Distribution of various allomorphs of the future formatives may be explained as follows :

/to~tə/ : It follows monosyllabic stems and precedes personal terminations of 3rd and 2nd person ordinary and first person singular.

/bitok/ I will go, /biton/ you will go (sg.)

/bitoc/ you will go (pl.), /bito/ he~they will go.

/hētyan bəto hodoi bito/ whosoever comes, will go.

/-o-/ : It is a tense marker and is added to stems ending in *-si* or *-ci*, after the deletion of the final vowel, *-i*, and takes non-hon. personal suffixes of all persons in the singular number.

/hac-o-k/ I will become, /hac-o-n/ you (sg.) will become,

/hac-o-c/ we (excl.) will become, /hac-o/ he/they will become.

**/-ti~te/** : The allomorph /ti/ of the stem /to-/ occurs with monosyllabic stems before personal endings of 1st pl. (excl.), 2nd and 3rd honorific ; and /-te/ before 1st person (inclusive) :

/khyatiš/	he (hon.), they will see
/khyatic/	we (excl.) will see
/khyatiñ/	you (hon.) will see
/khyate/	we (inclusive) will see
/toñte/	we „ will strike.

**/-i/** : Morphological environments for the occurrence of this allomorph are identical with /ti~te/, but it is affixed to polysyllabic stems only :

/husis/	he (hon.) they will learn, /husiñ/	you (hon.) will learn.
/hucic/	you (pl.) we (incl.) will learn.	
/hacis/	he (hon.) they will become.	
/haciñ/	you (hon.) will become.	
/hacic/	we (incl.) will become.	

**/-ə/** This formative suffix is a centralized variant of /-o/ and occurs before the second person non-hon. sg. personal termination in a polysyllabic stem, ending in /si/ or /ci/

/hacəñ/	you will become, /tošəñ/	you will sit,
/roncəñ/	you will hear, /husəñ/	you will learn.
/bətəñ/	you will come.	

(b) *Future continuous* : Future continuous forms are obtained by adding respective future tense forms of the verb substantive /nito/ to present participial base of the verb :

tuño nitok/	I shall be drinking.
tuño nitiñ/	You (hon.) will be drinking.
/tuño nitic/	You (pl.) „ „ „
/tuño nito/	he „ „ „
/nəo nitok/	I shall be understanding.

(c) *Object infixation* : In case of a pronominal object (1st and/or 2nd person) it is infixed in between the stem and the tense-person marker suffixes :

/khyā-t-o-k/	I will see him.
/khyā-c-o-k/	I will see you.
/khyā-c-o-n/	You will see me.
/khyā-t-o-n/	You will see him.
/khyā-t-o/	he will see him/them.
/khyā-č-o/	he will see me/you/us.

#### 11.7.4. Habitual Aspect

Forms indicative of a perfect and non-perfect action are obtained in the following way :

(a) *Perfect* : Habitual forms of a non-present action are identical with past continuous forms :

/niña dearo doganu kimu bādo dugeč/  
we used to come to their house daily.

(b) *Non-perfect* : The non-perfective aspect is effected (i) by adding present tense forms of the verb /ni-/~/tos-/ to live, to remain, to the present participle base of principal verb :

/zao ni:c/      we (incl.) usually eat.  
/uno ni:c/      we „ „ beg.  
/do sādāi zao ni:cdu~tošit/  
he is always eating (it is his habit)  
/do kamān lano ni:c~ni:c du/  
he is always working (it is his habit).

(ii) by adding respective future tense forms of the aux. /to-/ to the indeclinable present tense forms of the principal verb :

/khyac tok/      I usually see him.  
/khyac ton/      you „ „ „  
/khyacic to/      he (hon.) /they usually see me/you  
/khyacic toc/      we (excl. du.) usually see you,  
/khyacic tonne/      we (incl. „) „ „ „

#### 11.7.5. Inceptive Aspect

The inceptive aspect of an action is expressed by adding tea-/[-tya] to the verb root.



/bitea/	[bitya]	let us start moving
/bustea/	[bōstyā]	„ „ „ showing
/lāntea/	[lāntyā]	„ „ „ working.

### 11.7.6. Simultaneity of An Action

When two actions take place simultaneously, then the verb of the primary action is put in the tense oriented finite form and of the secondary action in the non-finite form. There are three ways of expressing it.

(i) Present participle + nači

/zaonaci bio due/ he was going while eating

/wədonaci rina/ he said while laughing

/kamənlanonaci bədo duce/ we were coming while doing work.

(ii) Root + erən : /bierən/ while going, /bəderən/ while coming, /lənərən/ while doing, /tošərən/ while sitting, /zaerən/ while eating, /kayən sonərən rək tha tunra/ do not drink (fut.) wine while dancing  
/tuñərən tha wənra/ don't laugh (fut.) while drinking.

Besides, /-erən/ we also get /-nən/ to convey this very sense, /binən ~ bierən/ while going, /tonənən ~ tonərən/ while striking.

(iii) Root + eo :

/zaeo bio due/ he went away while still taking his food.

/do yəgeə rina/ he said while was in sleep.

(iv) Reduplicated verb stem + is

/do dendenis gər gər byo/

he fell down while he was still standing.

(v) Root + ~~as~~ ~ ~~si~~

In many cases formative suffixes /-osi ~ -si/ are also used to convey the sense of 'while doing something' as in /somzeaosi/ while causing to understand, /gyaosi/ while desiring, /dakcisi/ while remaining.

## 11.8. PASSIVE SUB-SYSTEM

In a normal course of speech Tibeto-Himalayan languages favour active constructions, and also do not make much difference between active and passive constructions. In transitive verbs the inherent use of the subject in the ergative case and the past tense form with participle /-šid/ is enough to convey the passive sense of the utterance. For instance, the following utterance is both active and passive /kaməñ chekyašid ninas khau zac/ having finished the work (=when the work was finished) we took meals.

Similarly, though the statement : /raməṣ ravənu šašid/ Ram killed Ravan, is basically a passive construction, yet if it is necessary to give an apparent passive form to it than it can be done with the use of /dwakč/ 'from' : and by placing the subject in the genitive case :

/ramu/ more dwakč ravənu šašid/  
 Ram (Gen.) p.p. Ravan-(obj.) kill (pas. participle)  
 Ravan was killed by (from) Ram.

In the past tense, besides /-šid/, it can be expressed more explicitly by employing /-še/, may be from /šemmaŋ/ to cause, and the post-position /dwakč/ 'from' ;

/mohəñəṣ ran zogšid/ Mohan purchased a horse.  
 /mohənu dwakč rañ zogše/ a horse was purchased from Mohan.

In future tense the passivity is effected by the suffix /-so/ added to the verb stem and the post-position /dwakč/ added to the subject :

/dos dopəñ am keto/ he will give him a mango.  
 /do dwakč am rəṇso/ mango will be given by him.  
 /zo ciṭṭhi kin dwakč mahušiso/ this letter will not be read by you.

(=you will not be able to read this letter).

In a colloquial speech passive construction is not favoured with intransitive verbs. But, if so intended, it can be effected

with the help of the aux. /han-/ 'can' and the post-position /dwakč/ 'from'.

/ðñ dwakč tošim mahanim bðdɔ/

my from sitting not can become-  
sitting cannot be done by me.

/kin dwakč yunim mahani/

your from walking not can-  
walking cannot be done by you.

In a colloquial speech the above expressions will simply be expressed as 'I can not sit' and 'you cannot walk'.

In fact, in this language the indeclinable particle /šid/ seems to be the real passive marker, which when added to a verbal stem drops the final consonant /-d/, consequently it becomes homophonous with the reflexive marker. The passive stems so formed are :

/za-ši-mig/ to be eaten < /za-mig/ to eat

/cum-ši-mig/ to be held < /cum-mig/ to hold

/yon-ši-mig/ to be nourished < /yonmig/ to nourish.

Thus, in it the formative suffix /-ši/ when added to a transitive stem conveys the sense of passivity, and when added to an intransitive stem, the sense of reciprocity/ reflexivity ; as in  
/krab-ši-mig/ to cry together < /krabmig/ to cry.  
/toñ-ši-mig/ to strike oneself or to strike to one another <  
/toñ-mig/ to strike : /mañ-ši-mig/ to hide oneself <  
/mañ-mig/ to hide.

### 11.9. CAUSATIVE SUB-SYSTEM

As stated earlier, in this language the number of derived and secondary verbal roots is very low. Basically, for the types of conjugations, primary or secondary, there are distinctive primary stems, For instance, even the so called first causative or transitive stems, too, have their distinct roots.

	<i>Transitive</i>		<i>First causative</i>
khya-	(to see)	zañ-	(to show)
thə̌s-	(to) listen	niñ-	(to) make to listen
yäg-	(to) sleep	skum-	(to) make to sleep
huši-	(to) read	hun-	(to) teach
lan-	(to) do	un-	(to) make to do

/do kamə̌ñ lano du/he does work (he works)

/do chañu dwakč kamə̌ñ uno du/  
he gets the work done by the boy.

However, in some cases the Tibetan system of causativization by prefixing /s-/ to the verb root, mostly belonging to the Tibetan stock, also has found favour in it :

krə̌p	(to) weep	skrə̌b-	(to) make to weep
tuñ	(to) drink	stuñ-	(to) make to drink.

/gǎto chǎna amao kherə̌ñ tuñc/  
small children drink mother's milk.

/ama chǎnanu kherə̌ñ stuñc/  
mother makes the children drink milk.

But the most genuine morphological device of causativization is effected by appending the causative verb root/-še/</šennig/ meaning to cause, to allow, to put, to send, to apply etc. to the gerundial base of the verb, both transitive and intransitive suffixes, and other grammatical categories follow the causative stem :

lannig	to do	lanim šennig	to make to do
zamig	to eat	zam šennig	to make to go
camig	to dance	cam šennig	to make to dance
wə̌nnig	to laugh	wə̌nšennig	to make to laugh
hušimig	to read	hušim šennig	to make to read
cimig	to wash	cimšennig	to get washed
panmig	to cook	pannušennu	to get cooked.

#### 11.10. HONORIFIC SUB-SYSTEM

The honorific sub-system in Kinnauri is not as thorough as

it is in Tibetan languages, *i.e.* here in it there are no parallel non-honorific and honorific verb roots to distinguish between these two forms of it. In it they are, rather effected by means of distinct pronominal stems and personal suffixes. Their domain, too, is confined to the forms of the 3rd person singular and the second person, both singular and plural. (In verbal forms no distinction is made between the forms of dual and plural).

The honorific marker in the third person is /-š/ and in the second person /-ñ/ or /ñi/.

/do zao du/	he (non. hon.) is eating
/dogo zao duš~toš/	he (hon.) is eating.
/kə zao dun/	you (non. hon.) are eating.
/ki zao duñ/	You (hon.) are eating
/dos zad/	he (non. hon.) ate
/dogos zaš/	he (hon.) ate
/kə zan/	you (non. hon.) ate.
/ki zañ/	you (hon.) ate
/zao due/	he (non.) was eating
/zao dueš/	he (hon.) was eating
/zao dueñ/	you (hon.) were eating
/zato/	he (non.) will eat
/zatiš/	he (hon.) will eat
/zaton/	you (non.) will eat
/zatoñ/	you (hon.) will eat
/zatoe/	you (non. pl.) will eat
/zatic/	you (hon. pl.) will eat
/za/	eat (imp.) (non.)
/zañ/	please eat (imp.) (Hon.)

#### 11.11. NEGATIVE SUB-SYSTEM

In Kinnauri negative sub-system is operative for future tense forms only. In other tenses, there is no structural change in the verb forms, except the verb-substantive. The negation of an action is effected by three particles, *viz.* /mə~thə~terəni/. /məni~məē/. These are the contracted forms of the negative particle+verb-substantive : /məni/ 'It is not, they are not'

-/mð/ not+ /ni/ : to be (fut.). It is used particularly to indicate disagreement with the statement.

/mðẽ kek/ I was not, (/mð/+ /ni/ with the loss of /n/) /mðẽ keñ/ you were not.

/ki dðñ byoñ, mðẽ kek/you went there, (but) I did not.

The presence of a negative particle brings about a notable change in the structure of the verb forms in the future tense. There it is effected in two ways, (1) by eliminating the auxiliary in non-second person forms, (2) by replacing the negative particle /mð/ with /thð/ and consequent replacement of future forms by imperative forms in the second person.

The tendency of contraction in future negative forms is attested almost in all the dialects of Kinnauri : The full and the contracted forms of a few verbs may be illustrated below :

/gð zatog/	I will eat:	/gðmðzak/	I will not eat.
/do zato/	he will eat:	/do maza/	he will not eat.
/ninazatic/	we shall eat:	/niñamazac/	we shall not eat
/kð zara/	you will eat/:	/kð mð zara/	you will not eat
/ki zatiñ/	you (hon.) will eat:	/ki mð zarðñ/	you will not eat.
/gð ketok/	I will give:	/gð mð kek/	I will not give.
/gð betog/	I will go:	/gð mð bi:/k/	I will not go
/gð netog/	I will know:	/gð mð neg/	I will not know.

But no structural change, whatsoever, takes place in non-future tense-aspect forms :

/do keo/	he gives :	/do mðkeo/	he does not give.
/gðs ran ran/	I gave:	/gðs mð ranran/	I did not give.
/dð~hðdð mð beo du/	he is not going.		
/gðbeo tok/	I went :	/mā beotok/	I did not go.
/dð bibi/	he went :	/mabibi/	he did not go.
/dos kðs~kis~gðs zaza/	he/thou/you/I ate		
/ „ „ „ „ mazaza/	thou/you/I did not eat.		
/ki byoñ/	you (hon.) go.		
/ki thð byoñ/	you (hon.) dont go		

However, two distinct stems are employed in it to express

the sense of 'inability' and 'incapability', i.e. the verb /hacimig/ to become, is used if the expression of inability involves physical action and /zuryamig/ if there is some other reason, such as shortage of time etc. in the performance of the action in question. Consequently, /məhanək/ means it was physically difficult for me to perform the action in question, and /məzuryak/ means 'I could not perform the action because of some reasons, other than physical.

/gə hətra hasəl məbək/

I cannot come so quickly.

/do terən zən bənnu mahənc/

he can never come over here.

/kin yunim mə hani/

you will not be able to walk.

/sita kamən lələm hanis/

Sita will be able to do the work, but

/sita kamən lənəm mənis/

Sita will not be able to do the work.

## 11.12. INTERROGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Interrogative is a flectional category and is inflected for all the numbers and persons. It is expressed in two ways, (1) with interrogative words, (2) with interrogative affix. In the former case the verbal constructions are not different from the affirmative constructions : /kin chañc ham to/ where is your son ? /kin dən tetra ze toc/ how many sheep have you ?, /do thəd namən du/ what is his name.

But all other utterances in which the interrogative sense is expressed, in English, with the help of an aux. 'to be', to do, can, to have' etc, take an interrogative suffix which is affixed to the given affirmative verb form. In the consonant ending forms, it is directly affixed to the consonant concerned, but in vowel ending forms, occasionally, it is realized with preceding front glide /-y-/ after unrounded vowels, and with a back glide /-w-/ after rounded vowels :

/khyada ?/ has he/ have they seen ?

/khyasha ? / has he (hon.) /have they seen ?

- /khyana ? / have you (sg.) seen ?  
 /khyana ? / have you (hon.) seen ?  
 /bâdaya ? / has he come (with glide-y-/?  
 /ketowa ? / will he give (with glide-w-) ?

In case of periphrastic verbal forms, the interrogative suffix is added to the respective tense forms of the auxiliary in question and the principal verb as usual is in the participle base :

- /zao dua ? / is he eating ?  
 /zao duna ? / are you (sg.) eating ?  
 /zao toka ? / should I eat ?

When the enquiry involves the action that has yet to take place, then the interrogative suffix is affixed to the future tense forms of the given verb.

- /zato-a ? / will he eat ?  
 /keto-a ? / will he give ?  
 /zaton-a ? / will you eat ?

But when the implied sense involves permission then it is appended to the past tense form of the first person : /zak-a ?/ should I eat ?, /zac-a ?/ should we eat ?, /bek-a ?/ should/may I come ?, /bâc-a ?/ should/may we come ?, /bik-a ?/ should/may I go ?, /bic-a ?/ should/may we go ? etc.

### 12.13. MOODS AND MODAL VERBS

Besides the full-fledged conjugation of the verbs, as described above, there are some partial conjugations as well, *i.e.* they are partially related to a particular point of time and attest inflection for a few grammatical categories only. These are termed as modal conjugations.

The function of various tense-aspect oriented forms of a finite verb is to state the objective facts of an action with reference to the time of its occurrence. All these forms are covered by a single term called indicative mood. But there are certain attitudes of the mind of the speaker with regard to the action in question which need specific terms and forms



to express them. Thus verbal forms that are employed to express different aspects of the mental state of the speaker such as ability, desire, permission, possibility or command, polite request, determination, compulsion, willingness, obligation, strong probability, certainty, necessity, benediction, advice, moral obligation etc. are called modal forms. Morphologically distinguishable moods are : Indicative, Imperative, subjunctive optative. Benedictive, abilative, desiderative, permissive, compulsive, conditional, etc. The modal verbs used to express these modes of an action are in many ways different from the forms and functions of the indicative mood. Firstly, they are not always marked for time relation as we find in the forms of the indicative mood. Secondly, a good many of them are used to manifest various aspects of the mental attitude of the speaker, though many a time they are formally non-distinguishable.

Thirdly, they attest inflection for a few grammatical categories only. In Kinnauri, usually the modal expressions are effected with the help of auxiliaries appended to various finite and non-finite verbal bases. The various forms and functions of these may be presented as under :

### 12.1. Imperative Mood

It conveys a sense of command or request (both ordinary and polite) and its forms are inflected for the second person only. They are, of course, marked for numbers, both polite and non-polite forms of speech. It is of two types, (1) ordinary and (2) prohibitive, having distinctive markers for both.

In Kinnauri, an imperative is formed by adding suffixes-  
/u~o~φ~ : ~č~ic~iñ~ñ~ra~ri~d~ed/. From the point of compliance of order these may be grouped as immediate and non-immediate suffixes. Of these /ra~ri/ belong to the non-immediate group and others to the immediate, i.e. suffixes from /-u/ to /-ñ/ are added to the bare root of the verb when immediate performance of an action is intended, and the others when there is no urgency of an immediate compliance of the order. The distribution of the allomorphs of the 'immediate' group is as follows :

- (1) Second person, singular number (ordinary) : /u~o~

$\phi \sim$  : / -u/ : It is added to verbal stems ending in a high front vowel, /-i/ which in some cases, is realized as a front glide, -y-, before it.

/bi-u/ → [byu] go, /ci-u/ wash, /iu/ ask.

/-o/ : It is added to verbal stems ending in a vowel other than /i, u, o/ : /khyao/ see, /zao/ eat, /ceo/ write, /neo/ know, learn.

/-ϕ/ : It occurs with stems ending in a consonant: /yðg/ sleep, /lan/ do, /toš/ sit, /huš/ read, learn, /thðs/ hear, /pid/ close, /oš/ pour, /tuñ/ drink.

/-:/ : It is realized with stems ending in a rounded vowel :  
/ u : / bloom, /no : / crush.

(ii) Second personal plural number (ordinary) : /-č~ič/  
/-č/ : It is added directly to verb stems ending in a vowel :

/bi /-:/ /č/ go, /zeč/ come, /zač/ eat, /khyáč/ see.

/-ič/ : It is added to stems ending in a consonant :

/lðnič/ do, /tošič/ sit, /tuñio/ drink.

(iii) Second person (honorific : /-ñ~iñ/ (polite Imp.)

/-ñ/ : It is an honorific marker suffix and is directly affixed to verb stems ending in a vowel :

/biñ/ please go, /zeñ/ please come, /zañ/ please eat. /ceñ/ please write, /piñ/ please close.

/-iñ/ : It is also an honorific marker and is added to verb stems ending in a consonant :

/lðniñ/ please do, /tošiñ/ please sit, /hušiñ/ please read, /thasiñ/ please listen.

It may be interesting to note that most of the honorific forms of imperative with /-ñ/ are identical with past tense second person honorific forms and with /-iñ/ with future tense second person honorific forms.

(iv) Non-immediate group : /ra~ri/.

These forms are declinable and are used when immediate compliance with the order is not necessary. This is a sort of periphrastic construction in which the elements /ra~ri/ seem to be the stem part of the verb /ranning/ 'to give'. (cf. Hindi, *Kār dena, de dena*, etc.). As usual, these are followed by

personal terminations, both honorific and non-honorific. Of these the former is a non-honorific marker and the latter an honorific marker.

/bi /:/ ra/	go (in fut.)	= Hindi	/jana/ (ord. sg.)
/khyara/	see „ „	= Hindi	/dekhna/
/kera/	give „ „	= „	/dena/
/kerac/	„ „ „	= „	„ (pl.)
/biriñ/	go „ „	= „	/jaiega/ (hon.)
/khyariñ/	see „ „	= „	/dekhiega/ (hon.)
/khyamšeriñ/	show	= „	/dikhaiyega „ (caus.)
/keren/	give	= „	/dijiyega/ „ „

(v) /-d/ : In a few sporadic cases occurrence of /-d/ as an imperative marker is also attested. No pattern or phonetic environment can be explained for this : /pid/ close, /ket/ give.

(vi) /-ed/ : Verbal stems borrowed from Modern Indo-Aryan languages add /-ed/ to their stems to form imperative singular :

/poced/	arrive	< /pocennig/	to arrive
/jitted/	win	< /jitennig/	to win
/somzed/	understand	< /somzeamig/	to understand.

(i) *Prohibitive Imperative* : The prohibitive imperative marker is /thä/ which is prefixed to the bare verb root :

/tha za/ don't eat, /thalan/ don't do.

(ii) *Periphrastic Imperative* : In periphrastic construction the imperative marker is added to the final component of it :

/zu baṇiṇu h̥əzðni ni:mšēñ/  
please leave this utensil at this very place.  
/zu kamðñ hasðl lan lanšēñ/  
please do this work quickly.

(iii) *Replasive Imperative* : There are certain imperative forms in which the finite verb root is replaced by an entirely new imperative root, may be a remnant of the past :

/bðnnig/ → /zennig/ : /zen/ please come  
 /zira/ come (fut. sg.) : /zic/ come (pl.)

(iv) *Suggestive Imperative* : A polite suggestion to do something is expressed by future tense forms of the verb concerned.

/pañ, aisan oms bite/  
 please, move, (I suggest) let us go a little a head.

It is just like the expression in Hindi—*cðlie, thora aur age cðliega*.

Examples of compound imperative constructions :

/zu baɲɪnu hðʒðni ni:mʃeñ/  
 Please leave this utensil at this very place (hon.).  
 /hasðl hðʒðn bðdo toʃiñ/  
 having come here quickly please sit down.  
 /zu kamðŋ hasðl lan lanʃeñ/  
 please quickly finish this work.  
 /aɲu hðððn bimʃeciʃ/  
 let me go there.

## 12.2. Optative

Optative mood, in Kinnauri, is expressed with the aux. /ʃen-/ which is identical with causative/reflexive marker. It is added to the verbal noun base of the verb and is followed by personal suffixes, including object suffixes :

/bim-ʃe-ñ/ you (hon.) let him go  
 /aɲu bim-se-čiʃ/ let me go  
 /a bim-ʃe-c/ let us go, he/they may go.

## 12.3. Permissive

It is used when one wants to express the sense of permission or consent to do something. It is expressed either by simple imperfect participle or by future tense forms, simple or periphrastic.

/zao/ he may eat.  
 /byo/ you may go.  
 /dogo chedian gyatiʃ lantiʃ/~

/doga chedian geam lanim b̄to/  
 they may do whatever they like.  
 /deš̄ðñu khyam byoto/  
 he may go to see the village.

#### 12.4. Subjunctive

The domain of subjunctive mood is confined to first person forms only. In other words it is another term for first person imperative, implying polite enquiry to perform some action. The formative suffixes of this mood are : /-ka~ika/ (sg.) /-ca~ica/ (pl.) added to the verb root. /-ka/~/-ca/ are affixed to roots ending in a vowel, and /-ika/~/-ica/ to roots ending in a consonant :

/bi-ka ?/	may/should I go ?:	/biča/	may/should we go ?
/b̄-ka/	„ „	I come ?:	/b̄-ča/ „ „ „ come ?
/khyaka/	„ „	I see ?:	/khya-ča/ „ „ „ see ?
/zaka/	„ „	I eat ?:	/za-ča/ „ „ „ eat ?
/yag-ika/	„ „	I sleep:	/yag-iča/ „ „ „ sleep ?
/l̄n-ika/	„ „	I do/work ?:	/l̄n-iča/ „ „ „ do/work

#### 12.5. Conditional/Contingent Mood

The conditional or contingent mood is a non-flectional category, i.e. it is invariable for all the persons and numbers. In Kinnauri the contingent suffix is *-ma~na* and is added to the verb stem of the subordinate (conditional) clause. The verb form of the principal clause, is, however, variable and varies according to the number and person of the subject in the future tense. The real suffix is /-ma/ which after stems ending in *-n* is realized as /-na/ as well :

/ki b̄anna, ḡle eke b̄cok/  
 (if) you come I will also come with you.  
 =had you come I would also have accompanied you.  
 /d̄ b̄anna dam nico/  
 (if) he comes, good will be  
 =it will be so nice, if he comes.  
 /k̄ zu kam̄ñ l̄nma, ḡk̄ñu p̄Esa kek/  
 (if) you had done this work, I would have given you money.

/dɔ byo byo nima/ had he gone~ if he had gone  
 /gɔ byom hɔnma/ if I can go.  
 /gɔ byom hɔncnima/ if I could go.  
 /li /:/ dɛr hacima/ if I/he/you/they become a leader.  
 /ki bɔnna anu le bɔnimpɔc/  
 If you (will) come, I will also have to come.

### 12.6. Compulsive Mood

It conveys the meaning of performing an action under compulsion, i.e. when the speaker wants to communicate that, though one is~was unwilling to do a particular action, yet has/had to do that under some compulsion. It is a variable class and the grammatical categories are expressed by the respective forms of the auxiliary /pa-/, which follows the infinitive base of the principal verb.

/dɔpɔn zɛrɔb zɔnc bim pɔpa/  
 he, all of a sudden, had to go from here.  
 /dɔpɔn mɔjburi hɔzɔn bɔnnu/bɔn pɔpa~pɔsid/  
 he had to go from here under compulsion.  
 /ki bɔnna anu le bɔnim pɔto~pɔc/  
 (if) you come, I will also have to come.  
 /cem lentic/ (you) will have to write.

### 12.7. Obligation

The sense of obligation is expressed with the help of verb substantive (aux.) /to-/~du-/ added to the gerundial base of the principal verb :

/gɔs ɔn bapupɔn ciŋhi cemɔ duk/  
 I have to write a letter to my uncle.  
 /dos anu boɔ rɔn bimɔ toɕ/  
 he has to go with his father.

### 12.8. Ability

The ability of a doer in respect of an action is expressed by the auxil./hɔd-/ 'can, be able', affixed to the gerundial base of the principal verb:

thurennu h̄nto/

he is capable to run.

/d̄o ter̄n̄ h̄z̄z̄n̄ b̄n̄nu mah̄nc/

he cannot come here so quickly.

/̄n̄ dwak̄č tōšim ma hanim b̄do/

I am unable to sit.

/kin dwak̄č yunim mahanīn̄/

you will not be able to walk.

/d̄o zam h̄n̄/ he is able to eat/he can eat.

/kam̄n̄ h̄n̄m̄ h̄nt̄k̄/

I will be able to do the work.

/ram̄s khau l̄n̄n̄ b̄n̄sid/

Ram was able to prepare meals.

But it is also expressed by simple infinitive verbal forms :

/ḡd̄ h̄tra has̄l̄ ma b̄k̄/

I cannot come so quickly (=I am not come).

### 12.9. Expectancy

The sense of expectancy of completion of an action is expressed by adding the indeclinable past suffix /-da/ meaning 'expectation' to the gerundial base of the verb in question :

/hacimda/ one should have become.

/r̄n̄mda/ one should have given.

/khyam da/ one should have seen.

/ramu raja hacimda/

Ram should have become a king.

### 12.10. Possibility

Possibility or probability of an action taking place in present, past or future is expressed in different forms. In the present it is expressed by present participle + future tense forms of the verb substantive /ni-/.

/do (halam) hunakson̄ khau zao nito/

he (perhaps) at this time food eating will be-

he may be taking meals at present/now.

In case of past (including past perfect) it is expressed by

perfect participle + relevant future tense forms of the verb substantive /ni-/ :

/hunakstəṇ doga khau zaza nitiṣ/  
they might have taken their meal by now.  
/kiṣi ləḷə nitiṇ/ you (hon.) might have said.

But in the case of possibility of the action taking place in future, it is expressed by simple future tense forms of the verb in question :

/nosam (halam) bore le zəṇ bətiṣ/  
tomorrow sister-in-law also may come here.

#### 12.11. Advisability/necessity

Advisability or necessity of performing an action is indicated by the verb /gyamig/ meaning 'to desire, to want, to wish'. In case of necessity it is rendered by the verb itself, e.g.

/khir pannu taṇes rəl gyamig/  
rice is needed to cook kheer.

But in expressing the sense of advisability or the meaning of 'should' in English it can follow the gerundial base of the principal verb. It can also be followed by an indeclinable form of the verb substantive /to-/, viz. /toč/ 'is'.

/dopəṇ hune byom gyač/  
he should go just now (he is advised to go).  
/aṇu khyam gyac/ gyatəḷ/  
I should see (it is desirable for me to see).  
/kinu dəṇ zəṛur bimū toč~bingyac/  
you must go there (it is advisable).  
/dopəṇ həzəṇ mā bəṇ gyamig toč/  
he should not come here (an advice).

#### 12.12. Desirability

The verb /gyamig/ also expresses the 'desiderative' sense. In this case it is put in the perfect participial form preceded by



gerundial base of principal verb and followed by the aux. /to-/.  
 /tuñmu gya gya to/ he wants to drink.  
 /do hune byom gya gya to/ he wants to go (leave) just now.

### 12.13. Benediction

The sense of an ardent desire or wish or benediction is expressed with the verb stem /haci-/ to become + /gya/- (declinable) :

/haciggya/	May he (ord.) become
/haciggyčš/	May he (hon.) become
/haciggyðn/	May you (sg.) become
/haciggyðñ/	May you (hon.) become

## 13. NON-FINITE VERBAL FORMS

There are various types of verbal forms which, though are derived from verbal stems, yet are not inflected for tense-aspect categories of it, and also do not take modal suffixes. As such they are non-variable and non-personal, except the verbal adjectives which are inflected for gender (see 13.4). The absence of personal endings in non-finite forms, which are so conspicuous in finite forms, may be taken as a distinguishing characteristic of it. Moreover, absence of grammatical categories associated with finite verb forms also renders them to be absolutive forms which neither convey a complete sense nor close a sentence.

Principal categories of this class of verbal forms are : infinitives, verbal nouns, participles, verbal adjectives, adverbial participles and conjunctive gerunds. The formations and functions of these verbal forms may be presented as under :

### 13.1. Infinitive

An infinitive, in Kinnauri, is formed by suffixing /-mig~nig/ to the bare verb root. The latter allomorph occurs with /-n/ ending roots and the former with all others, e.g. /khya-mig/

to see, /thòs-mig/ to hear, /ci-mig/ to wash, /ši-mig/ to die, /šan-nig/ to kill, /lan-nig/ to do, /rðn-nig/ to give.

It may be noted that realization of /-mig/ as /-nig/ may be on account of the phonetic change effected under the force of regressive assimilation.

### 13.2. Verbal Noun

A verbal noun or gerund which, usually, has the force of a logical object of a verb or a semantic correlation with an accusative-dative case is formed by adding /-mu~-nu/ to the verb root. Verb stems ending in /-n/ take /-nu/ and all others take /-mu/, e.g. /khyā-mu/ to see or for seeing, /zañ-mu/ to show /or showing, /tuñ-mu/ to drink, for drinking, /šan nu/ to kill, for killing, /wðnnu/ to laugh/ for laughing, etc. Syntactically, their use may be illustrated as follows :

/nasom zðñ bðnnu tha bošireñ/  
don't forget to come here tomorrow.

/gð esa terðnnu ne /:/ c/  
I know swimming well.

/dos añ boa rðñ bimu du/  
he has to go with his father.

/bapurðñ ciṭṭhi cemu duk/  
I have to write a letter to my father.

/gð id dam kamðñ lannu gyagya tok/  
I want to do a good work.

I want to do a good work.

Like a noun a verbal, noun also can be governed by a post-position to express its casual or other syntactic relations :

/khir pannu tañes rðl gyamig/  
rice is needed to cook (prepare) kheer.

/krabmu bðñṭhi/ instead of crying.

/khyamu bðñṭhi/ instead of seeing.

In negative constructions, too, these forms do not undergo any change :

/ðñ dwakč tošim ma hanim bðdð/  
seating cannot become by me=I cannot sit.

/kin dwakč Yunim mahani/  
 going cannot become by you=you cannot go.  
 /gə bənnu ma hənc/ I cannot come.

### 13.3. Participles

Participles, also called verbal adjectives, are classified as present participle, perfect participle, potential participle and future participle. The functions and the mechanism of formations of these may be presented as follows :

(i) *Present Participle* : Present participle is formed by appending /-o~-do/ to verbal stems. The former allomorph is added to stems ending in a vowel or consonant other than /-n/ and the latter with stems ending in /-n/, which is frequently elided before this formative :

/-o/ : /cio/ washing, /šio/ dying, /tuŋo/ drinking, /tošo/ sitting, /yabo/ flying.

/-do/ : /redo/ selling, wədo/ laughing, /pado/ cooking, /dado/ falling, /šado/ killing, but /rəno/ giving, /uno/ taking.

The present participle has a dual character, *i.e.* it has characteristics of an adjective as well as of an adverb. As an adjective it denotes a situation in which action has already started but continues until the period of time indicated by the finite verb form. For instance, /gəʂ id yabo pyac khyak/ I saw a flying bird. Here 'flying' implies that the bird was already in the process of flying or the bird had already taken a flight.

But while functioning as an adverb it indicates a state of an action taking place simultaneously while some other action also is taking place, *e.g.*, /dogo khyao deoduš/ they were moving while seeing, *i.e.* the actions of moving and seeing were going on simultaneously.

The participial form is reduplicated if the sense of continuity of action is to be emphasised or particularised : /zao zao bio/ he left while he was in the process of eating, /cio cio rina/ he said while he was washing'.

/do kaməŋ lano lano brəʂsid/  
 he became unconscious while he was still working.

/gəʂ bio bio khyak/ I saw while walking.

/aɦu kaməɦ lano lano berəɦ bibi/

I am late because I was in the process of doing work.

It also conveys the sense of an action having been done repeatedly : /gəʂ bio bio chacha tok/ I am tired of going repeatedly, /tuɦo tuɦo/ having continuously or again and again drunk.

In such uses it is well distinguished from the passive participle by its distinctly present meaning, *i.e.*, denoting an accompanying or more often a preceding action vis-a-vis the action of the finite verb.

In causative constructions the participial formative follows the causative stem, /-še/, as in /wəɦšedo/ making (someone) to laugh-*cf.* /wədo/ laughing, /gəʂ dopəɦ wədo khyak/ I saw him laughing.

(ii) *Conjunct Participle* : It denotes that the action indicated by the participle has already been completed before the beginning of the action indicated by the finite verb form. Its distinguishing feature, as compared with other participles is that it neither possesses the characteristics of a modifier nor indicates any temporal aspect of the action. As such it acquires the virtual value of an indeclinable participle, present or past. Besides, it also does not affect the case form of the subject, which in its turn is affected by the main verb, *e.g.* /krab krab lošid/ he, having wept, said. *i.e.* he wept and said.

The formation of this participle is very simple. It is obtained simply by reduplicating the verbal stem, if it is a mono-syllabic one :

/khyā khyā/	having seen	<khyamig	to see
/ci ci/	having washed	<cimig	to wash
/nene/	having known	<nemig	to know
/tuɦ tuɦ/	having drunk	<tuɦmig	to drink.

/hasəɦ həʂəɦ bəbə toših/

quickly here having come sit (hon.)-

quickly having come here, sit.

/do yad pipi gəɦ gəɦ bio/

having lost his consciousness he fell down.

/do kimu saṇṇ̄n šeše bio du/

he has gone away having caused lock to (=locked) the house.

In polysyllabic stems, however, two different processes are followed for constructing the forms of a conjunct participle :

(a) Reduplication of the final syllable, if the vowel of it is other than a front one.

/kušyašya/	having wiped	<kušyamig	to wipe
/zuṇ lyalya/	having moved to & fro	<zuṇlyamig	to move
/sumcece/	having thought	<sumcennig	to think

also /sumchacya/ : /dos sumcyacya rina/ he said having given a thought.

/ca su ryarya redo du/ he is sending tea, having prepared it.

(b) But in case of polysyllabic roots ending in /-si~ci~zi/ instead of reduplicating the stem, a suffixal /-s/ is affixed to it.

/hušis/	having read	<hušimig	to read
/tošis/	having sat	<tošimig	to sit
/hacis/	having become	<hacimig	to become
/yocis/	having played	<yocimig	to play.

/kamṇ̄n melsis bḇbḇ du/

he is coming after having begun the work.

/yocis yḇl yḇl to/ he will be tired after having played.

(c) Besides, there is also one instance in which reduplication as well as affixation of /-s/ is attested. /zḇṇ̄n les les/ having been suspended </zḇṇ̄nlennig/ to be suspended.

Verb roots ending in /-n/ sometimes drop this /-n/ in reduplicated forms, as in /lala/ having spoken </lannig/ to speak, /kuku/ having called </kunmig/ to call, /šaša/ having killed </šannig/ to kill, /rosisi/ having got angry </rosinmig/ to get angry.

/gḇ omsi zopṇ̄n lalan tok/= /lan lan tok/

I have already done it.

Further, the conjunct participle forms the base for present perfect tense forms as well (see. 11.7.1.d).

(iii) *Perfect Participle* : Perfect participle conveys the sense of an action that took place in the past but acts as a modifier of some other action or object. Its forms are identical with the forms of conjunctive particle.

/do ganu bi bi kus dyar hacis/  
 enough time has passed since he went.  
 /dopðn bi bi tetra dyare hacis/  
 how many days have passed since he left.

The normal way of forming a perfect participle, in Kinnauri, is to add formative suffixes. /-šid~š/, occurring in complementary distribution, to the verb root. Of these the latter is appended to verb stems ending in /-si-/ or /-ci-/ and the former with others :

/-šid/:	/khyasid/	seen	< khyamig	to see
	/thasšid/	heard	< thasmig	to hear
	/cišid/	washed	< cimig	to wash
	/šišid/	dead	< šimig	to die
	/chðršid/	dried	< chðrmig	to be dry
	/bðršid/	burnt	< bðrmig	to be burnt
	/rðnšid/	given	< rðnnig	to give
	/unšid/	taken	< unnig	to take.

Sometimes the stem final /-n/ is dropped before the suffix /-šid/, as in /ša-šid/ killed < /šannig/ to kill. /resid/ sold < /rennig/ to sell ; /ašid/ cooked, planning to cook, /hušid/ taught < /hunning/ to teach.

/-š/ :	/tošiš/	seated	< tošimig	to sit, to dwell.
	/mañšiš/	hidden	< mañšimig	to hide
	/hušiš/	read	< hušimig	to read
	/haciš/	that has become	< hacimig	to become
	(as in /les hacis/ cool become = drenched, wet)			

As a modifier it modifies anything as having endured the action denoted by the verb root :

/gəs id šišid səpəθs khyak/

I saw a dead snake.

/əŋ cišid gasa ham to/

where are my washed clothes ?

/rhəgšid paθhuc ham to ?/

where is the broken pitcher ?

But while functioning as a constituent of a verb phrase, denoting the sense of an action that has taken place in the past or the non-present time, it is invariably followed by respective past tense forms of the aux. 'to be'. In this form it conveys a passive sense.

/do tošiš due/ he was seated.

/boθhaŋu den i pyac tošiš du/

a bird was seated on a tree.

/əŋ gaθoc baic yəgšid du/

my younger brother is slept.

In the Sangla-Nichar variety of Kinnauri these formatives are attested as /-sis~ses~sic/ : /beosic/ gone, /zasic/ eaten, /lansic/ done etc.

(iv) *Conjunct Constructions* : It is effected by affixing the formative /-na/ ~ /ma/ to the stem of the verb of the contingent clause, i.e. the 'if' clause, and by using verbal noun + simple future form of the modal verb for the definite future form clause, viz. 'then' clause. The verbal form in the subordinate clause is also termed as conditional gerund, because in this type of constructions the action indicated by the verb in the principal clause takes place only if the action in the subordinate clause takes place. Moreover, in these constructions the terms for 'if' in the subordinate clause and for 'then' in the principal clause may not be overtly expressed :

/ki bəŋna aŋu le bənim pəto/

(if) you come, (then) I will also have to come.

/ki bəŋna tə gəle sath bəcok/

(if) you come then I will also come with you.

/do bānna dam nico/

it would be so nice (if) he comes.

In the above examples /-na/ seems to be a result of assimilation, for in areal variations we get forms like /bānma/ if he comes, /byoma/ if he goes, /tuñ ma/ if he drinks.

### 13.4. Verbal Derivatives

*Nominal/Adjectival Derivatives* : Agentive nouns or verbal adjectives are obtained by affixing /-zea~-cea/ to the verb root. Of these the former allomorph is added to stems ending in a consonant and the latter to stems ending in a vowel; though in a few instances violation of this principle is also attested in idiolectal variations. The stem final /-n/ too, is frequently dropped before these suffixes, consequently behaving as vowel ending stems. Besides, suffixes like /-dea/ and /-sea/ also are attested in dialectal variations. Moreover, these verbal derivatives, like nouns, belong to the variable class and are inflected for number gender and case categories. The feminine counterpart of these suffixes are /-ze, -ce, -de, -se/ respectively.

/unzea/	(m) :	/unze/	(f.)	taker	<unmig to take
/kecea/	„ :	/kece/	(f.)	giver	<kennig to give
/kacea/	„ :	/kace/	„	bringer	<kanmig to bring
/lacea/	„ :	/lace/	„	speaker	<lanmig to speak.

But the following exceptions too, are frequently attested :

/zazea~zacea/	eater	<zamig to eat
/tošizea/	one who is seated	<tošmig to sit.
/toncea/	one who strikes	<tonmig to strike, to beat
/lāncea~lāncya/	doer	<lānmig to do.

These formatives when appended to nominal stems indicate the sense of ownership or 'connected with' as in /ranzea/ one who possesses a horse, owner of a horse, etc.

These are designated adjectives because of the position they



occupy in a noun phrase and of the function of a modifier to a noun. These are also used as nouns, as such can act as a subject or object of a verb as well.

/byocyanu kitab/ the book of the person (Masc.) who is going  
 /byocenu kitab/ the „ „ „ „ (fem.) „ „ „  
 /byocyanu dwakč tha unra/  
 do not beg from the person who is going.  
 /bðcyago nu dwakč/ from the coming persons (masc.)  
 /bðcegonu dwakč/ from the coming persons (fem.)

Verbal adjectives or nouns are also formed by affixing /-ya/ (masc.) and /-ye/ (fem.) to the past passive participle base of a verb, if it pertains to the past time.

/byosidya mi/ the man who went < /byosid/ went, gone  
 /byosidye checac/ the woman who has gone.

Like nouns these can be followed by number, gender and case suffixes as well :

/byosidyanu/ of the male who came/ has come.  
 /byosidye nu/ of the female who come/has come.

(ii) *Adverbial Derivatives* : There is a class of adverbs of time, denoting a situation in which the completion of one action and beginning of another action instantly takes place. It is obtained as follows :

- (i) Present participle + /-ši~-rðñ/ :
- /pathu gudoc dadoši sugro sugro hace/  
 the pitcher went to pieces as soon as it fell from the hand.  
 /dogo niñanu toñcoši~toñzoši kraboš/  
 she broke into tears as soon as she saw us.

In the latter example a free variant /taño-i-rðñ/ (-i-emphatic particle) is also obtained.

- (ii) Verbal noun + post position, /nðñ/ 'after' + emph. part. -i.

/do bēnnēm nēni gə bitok/

I shall go, as soon as he comes.

/dogo anei tunēm nēni bitiš/

he (hon.) himself/will go as soon as he drinks.

The suffix /-nēn/ seems to be an areal variant of /rən/ attested in the standard variety of it.

## XII

### ADJUNCTS

#### 14. ADVERB

Like other adjuncts, adverbs or verbal modifiers belong to invariable class of words in Kinnauri. From the point of their syntactic position and semantic functions they form a separate class of words. Syntactically, their normal position in a sentence is immediately before a verb, another adverb or adjective, and semantically, they modify a verb with respect to place, time, direction or manner of action referred to by the given verb form.

##### 14.1. Classification

Semantically, all the adverbial expressions in Kinnauri can be classified into four main groups, viz. (i) Spatial or adverbs of place and direction, (ii) Temporal, or adverb of time, (iii) Modal or adverbs of manner, (iv) Quantitative or adverbs of quantity.

##### 14.2. Formation of Adverbs

Structurally, all classes of adverbs belong to two categories to be named as (i) derived, (ii) non-derived. Adverbs belonging

to the former category are polymorphemic and to the latter category monomorphemic. For the purpose of our presentation all the types of adverbs can be dealt with into these two groups, presented as under :

(i) *Simple or non-derived* : Commonly used simple adverbs are as follows :

(a) *Temporal* : /dyari/~/sōda/ always, daily, /mē/ yesterday, /tero/ today, /nasom/ tomorrow, /ri /:/ / day before yesterday, /huna/ now, /hunai/ just now, /he~heli~le/ again, /nipi/ afterwards, /donipi~doyuñ/ after that, /soms/ early morning, /romi/ day after tomorrow, /pahe~pañe/ 4th day, /eñi~eñe/ 5th day, /cei~cene/ 6th day, /kroñe/ 7th day, /stāñ/ till, untill.

(b) *Spatial* : /soñ/~/riñ/ up, /thwa/ above, up, /yua/ below, /yori/ down, /wark/ away, /thuk/ upwards, /oms/ in front, /ñums/ backward, /komo/inside, /bage/ last, /ni/ :~ð/ : / yes, /eke/ beside, /bairāñ/ outside, /hām/ where ?, /balden/ first (in order), /yuthāñ/ below, downward.

(c) *Manner* : /kwañi/ absolutely, /zābna/ suddenly, /halam/ perhaps, /suruči/ quietly, /ta/ certainty, emphasis, (as in /hunta/ now (emph.)), /esa~ joi/ properly, carefully, /ecc/ all alone, /hasāñ/ hastily.

(d) *Negative* : /terañi/ never : /gāterāñidāñ mabi /:/ k/ I shall never go there.

## (2) *Derived*

In Kinnauri, there is a variety of suffixes which is employed to effect various types of derived adverbs besides a full series of adverbs of all classes which is derived from pronominal bases. The most commonly employed suffixes are :

(a) *Spatial* : Important suffixes of this class are : /-āñ, -zāñ, -dāñ, -ko/ : /hō/ that /hāžāñ/ here (prox.), /hōdāñ/ (remote), /hōñāñ/ there (prox.-remote), /hād~hāt/ who, which? /hōdeko/ to that side (remote), /hōzeko/ to this side (prox.), /hātpāso/ to which side ? /zu dāñ-c/ from here, /do-dāñ-c/ from there, /hō-dāñ-c/ from there, /hō-zāñ-c/ from here, /hām-c/ from where ? /phanekci/ from (for) a long time.

(b) *Temporal* : Most important formatives of this class are : /-rāñ, -ro, -na/ : /terāñ/ when, /derāñ/ then, /hōderāñ/ then

(remote), /hun~huna/ now, /te-ro/ today (=this day), /terañi (ma)/ never.

(c) *Manner* : Important formatives of this class are : /-ze, -de, -la) : /həze/ like this, /həde~hədes/ like that, in that manner, /həla/ how ?, in what manner ?

(d) *Quantity* : Commonly used suffixes of this class are : /-da, -za, -na/ : /həda/ that much, /həza/ this much (prox.), /həna/ this much, /tetra/ how much ?

A few uses of the adverbs of place derived from pronominal stems with ablative suffix /-c/ may be illustrated as follows :

/gə diŋc~ hədəŋc kinuŋ gasa krak/  
I have brought clothes for you from there.  
/ki həmc bədo duñi/  
where are you coming from ?  
/dopəñəssadabaniš həzəŋc bim pəpa/  
he had to go from here all of a sudden.  
/ki dillic aŋuŋ thə kañi/  
what did you bring for me from Delhi ?

(e) Besides the above, other commonly used suffixes are :

/-c/ : It is an ablative marker 'from' suffixed to nominal and pronominal stems :

/zəŋc/ from here < /zəñ/ here  
/həzəŋc/ from here < /həzəñ/ here  
/hədəŋc~dəŋc~dokc/ from there < /do/ there  
/həmc/ where from < /həcm/ what ?  
/phanekci/ for (from) a long time.

/-k/ : 'after' added to pronominal stems :

/dok/ after that, then < /do/ that

/-rəñ/ : 'manner time and place' : added to nominal pronominal, adverbial and adjectival stems :

/bennəcm rəñ/ with love, lovingly.  
/nerəñ/ near, /terəñ/ when ?  
/həderəñ/ then (also see above)

/-stəñ/ : 'upto, till', added to nominal and pronominal stems :

/testəñ/ how long, upto what time, when ?

/nəñstəñ/ upto there, /dəñstəñ/ upto there.

/kalpa stəñ/ upto Kalpa.

/ziñcidəñ stəñ/ from this place to that place

/dəñci ziñstəñ/ from that place to this place.

/-ks/ : 'by'-added to pronominal and adj. stems :

/šupaks/ by the evening, in the evening. </šupa/evening.

/-žəb/ : 'times' (count) : added to numeral stems :

/ižəb/ once, onetime, /sumžəb/ thrice.

/-liñ/ : 'period of year' : added to pronominal-stems :

/toliñ/ this year, /noliñ/ last year,

/roliñ/ year before last year, /omliñ/ formerly.

/-mya/ : 'day, time' : -added to numeral, and adv. stems :

/i mya/ once, oneday, /teromya/ now-a-days

/hətmya/ how many times ?

/-ko/ : 'direction'-added to adv. stems :

/yumsko/ behind (to back direction)

/hə deko/ to that side.

/-ro/ : 'day, time'-added to pron. and prefixed to adverbial stems :

/tero/ today (=this day), /dyaro/ daily.

/romi/ day after tomorrow </me/ tomorrow

/-səl/ : 'action'-added to relative pronominal stems :

/hasəl/ quickly, fastly.

/-som/ : 'time, day, added to adj. stems :

/nasom/ tomorrow (=that morning).

/-s/ : 'manner', added to adj. stem.

/cutkañs/ quietly </cutkañ/ quiet.

/-tra/ : 'much, many', added to relative pronouns :

/tetra/ how much, how many ?

/-yā/ : 'way, manner' added to adv. stems -

/hətiyā/ in whatever way, any how, as soon as,

/thədiyā/ whatsoever.

/-pašo/ : 'side, direction' added to numeral and adverbial stems :

/coipašo/ around.

/lən/ : 'period of time' added to pron. stems :

/haltəslən/ until now.

/-son/ : 'time' added to pron. stems :

/hunakson/ till now.

/-gui/ : 'complete period', preceds nominal stems :

/gui ratiñ/ whole night, /guideyar/ for a long time.

### 14.3. Reduplication

Adverbs of manner are also formed by reduplicating the gerundial stems of the verb. In monosyllabic stems there is total reduplication, but in polysyllabics it is the last which is reduplicated.

/yəlyə/ being tired, /thureso~thurere/ runningly,

/monəñšeše/ attentively.

/mesan mesan/ very slowly <mesan slow

/terterəñ/ ever, everyday <tero today

/i :/ pa i :/ pa/ sometimes, (cf. Hindi, *kəbhi* : *kəbhi* :)

/dədenis/ while standing. /hasəl hasəl/ very quickly.

/oms i oms/ very front. /nosko nusko/ hither-thither.

### 14.4. Overlapping with Adjectives

There are some adverbial forms that overlap with adjectival forms at the syntactic level :

/gɔzɔb/ very, plenty, /gɔrɔb/ enough, /kɪalɪkha/ much, many,  
 /gomai/ very much, /bɔdi/ very much, /muluk/ much, many,  
 /tɪaɪ/ much, /gotoda/ few, /zyac/ some, little, /hate/ someone,  
 /tetra/ how, /thu/ why ?, /wali/ very much.

This distinction may be illustrated by a couple of examples as under :

- (1) /gɔzɔb~gɔrɔb chwa/ plenty of grain (Adj.)  
 /gɔzɔb~gɔrɔb rɔnc/ he speaks much (Adv.)
- (2) /kɪalɪkha mi~miga/ many people (Adj.)  
 /kɪalɪkha yɔge/ he sleeps much (Adv.)  
 /raɪ wali suɪg nɪc/ the horse is very red.  
 /gɔ tɛrɔ wal yɔl yɔl tok/ I am very much tired to day.

#### 14.5. Adverbial Phrases

As in other languages, in Kinnauri too, the adverbial sense is conveyed by adverbial phrases as well. The usual components of such a construction are : Adjectival, nominal and adverbial stems :

/mesa ratɪɪ/ last night,  
 /nɪʃ bɛraɪ/ two times, twice,  
 /sum bɛraɪ/ three times, thrice  
 /thwa kucɔɪ/ upward,  
 /omskuc zɔrɔsɔs/ louder than before  
 /gɔzɔb dam/ very good  
 /tɛrɔ ʃupa/ today evening  
 /aɪsa oms/ a little ahead  
 /zu naɪɕ/ from here  
 /hɔ daɪ-ɕ/ from there  
 /do daɪɕ/ from there

Adverbial phrases are also formed by combining two opposite terms in a coordinative manner :

/oms nɪms/ one after the other.  
 /ɪdu den aɪd/ one above the other.  
 /osko nosko/ in front of each other.  
 /komo baɪrɔɪ/ inside and outside.



## 14.6. Placement

The syntactic position of an adverb in Kinnauri can be illustrated as under :

- (i) /ki hɔm toʃit/  
you where live (present)  
where do you live ?
- (ii) /do hɔzəŋgi toʃit/  
he here (emph.) live (present)  
he lives at this very place.
- (iii) gə tero ʃupa ɔn kimo bio duk/  
I am going my home today.
- (iv) /zu kamən hasəl lan lan seŋ/  
finish this work quickly.
- (v) /gə omsi zupən lan lan tok/  
I have already finished it.
- (vi) /gə esa terənnu nic duk/  
I know swimmig well.
- (vii) /gə gui ratən ɸaŋco tokek/  
I was awakened for the whole night.
- (viii) /terən kamən chekyasid hɔdɔrən khau zaʃid/  
when work finished, then meal taken (ate).
- (ix) /gə tero wul yəl yəl tok/  
I am very much tired today.
- (x) /do zən terəni bən mahən/  
he can never come here.
- (xi) /gə hənəkkəmən hasəl mabək/  
I cannot come so quickly.
- (xii) /testən one krabo toʃiŋ/  
for how long would you cry like this.
- (xiii) /do gui dyar wəddoduʃ/  
he kept laughing for a long time.
- (xiv) /doga ɸhonekci lisko kamən lanoduʃ/  
They are working in the cold for a long time.
- (xv) /hasəl hɔzən bəbə toʃiŋ/  
quickly here having come sit (imp. hon.)  
quickly having come here, sit.

## XIII

### PARTICLES

Particles belong to a wide ranging class of uninflected words. The most important of them are—connectives, emphatics, negatives and exclamatives or interjections. Their forms and functions in Kinnauri may be explained as follows :

#### 15.1 CONNECTIVE PARTICLES

The primary function of this class of words is to conjoin the two elements of the same types, may be words, phrases, clauses or sentences of an utterance. In Kinnauri the number of words belonging to this class is very small. In many cases the function of a connective is served by a mere pause juncture, particularly when it is at the level of a clause or a sentence. Such a particle may be additive, alternative, contrastive, coordinative, differentiative, negative etc. Some of the commonly used connectives are :

/rəṇ/ : 'and' It is an additive particle and is used in between the elements joined by it :

/gə rən ki bitic/ you and I will go.  
 /ki rən do idi byorac/ you (hon) and he/she will go together.  
 but /do kecəgə.s tuŋc/ he gives (and) I drink.  
 /do lano beoŋniŋa zao beoc/  
 he continued cooking (and) we continued eating  
 /gə kinu ketəkŋki aŋu kera/  
 you give me (and) I will give you.  
 /dos rinəŋgə upəšən tok/  
 he said, (that) I am hungry.  
 /ai/ 'and'. It is also an additive particle.  
 /ram ai mohən kimo bəda/  
 Ram and Mohan went home.

/ma/~/na/ (na when preceded by -n). It is a conditional particle :

/ka bənnəŋgə bətək/  
 If you come, I will come.  
 /kə bima, gəle bətək/  
 If you go, I will also come.  
 /ma...tə/ 'if.....then' conditional, correlative.  
 /ki bəŋna tə gəle eke becok/  
 had you come, then I would also have accompanied you  
 /do bəŋna tə dam nico/  
 (if) he had come, then nice would have been.  
 /pər/ 'but' contrastive:  
 /ən kamən hacəs pər kin kamən ma hacəs/  
 (lit) my work has become, but your has not become.  
 /teraŋ-hədoərəŋ/ 'when-then' (Relative):  
 /teraŋ kamən sumtic, hədoərəŋ khau zac/  
 when work finished, then food eaten/etc.=  
 food was taken after finishing the work.  
 /hatyaŋ~hədoi/ 'whosoever...he so':  
 /hatyaŋ bəto hədoi bito/  
 whosoever comes, he will go.  
 /koe...koe/ 'either.....or' (Alternative):  
 /koe ram bito koe mohən bito/  
 either Ram may come, or mohan'.

/me.....me/ 'neither.....nor':

/do mð bðnna mð bðc/ neither he came nor I

## 15.2. EMPHATIC PARTICLE

In an utterance, usually, it is the heavy accent on the particular word or syllable that determines the intended emphasis. Sometimes, shifting of words from their normal syntactic position also serves the same purpose. But, besides the above devices, there are specific terms, termed as emphatic particles, which are employed to specify the emphasis more clearly. The placement of these elements is determined by the intension of the speaker. Consequently, it can be placed anywhere within the utterance, except the initial position, i.e. it will invariably follow the syntactic component intended to be emphasised. The commonly employed particles of emphasis, in Kinnauri, are : /le/ and /-i / :

/le/ 'also'.

/ki bðnna, aňu le bðnimpðc/

If you come, I will also come.

/kin kamðň aile mahacis/

your work has not been done even now.

/nasom bore le zðň bðto/

sister-in-law also will come tomorrow.

/-i/ : It indicates the sense of 'alone, as soon as,' etc. and is appended to the word intended to be emphasised, as a suffix :

/kis-i dopðň lolð nitiň/

you alone (emph.) may have told him.

/do dyaro zao-i tošit/

he always keeps on eating (emph.)

/doga le zðň-i tošit/

they also live at this very place.

/gð terðň-i zðň bðň mahðň/

I shall never (emph.) come here.

/dogo aňu lancis-i krabo/

she started crying as soon as she saw us.  
 paṭhu gudoc dadoš-i sugro sugro hac/  
 the pitcher went into pieces as soon as it fell from the hand.  
 /gə ecci b /əc/ I have come all alone.

/ta~tə/ : The emphatic sense of 'probability' or 'definiteness' of the happening of an action is also indicated by the particle /tə~ta/ :

/əñ kaməñ tə/ : həcis/  
 so far as my work is concerned, it is done.  
 /gə tə/ : bə /tok/  
 (so far as I am concerned) I will certainly come.  
 /hunaksoñ ta dogə khau zazanitič/  
 by now they must have taken their meals.

### 13.3 INTERROGATIVE PARTICLE

Interrogative particles are used with verbal stems alone, when seeking of permission for the given action is intended. In Kinnauri, it has two alternants, viz. /wa~a/.

/wa/ : It is affixed to verbal bases ending in a vowel : /ketowa?/ will he give ? /may he give ?/ zao dua~duwa ? / is he eating ?

/a/ : It is the real interrogative particle and is clearly maintained after verbal bases ending in a consonant ;

/ketoka ?/ will/should I give < /ketok/ I will give.  
 /bi/ : /ka ? /may/shall I go ?/beka ?/may/shall I come ?  
 /zaka ?/ may I eat ?, /byoka ? /did I go,  
 /zareka/ may/shall I come ?

### 15.4 NEGATIVE PARTICLE

Negative particles are used to negate the presence of an object or prohibit an action in question. Syntactically, they share the position of an adjective or adverb. Commonly used negative particles in Kinnauri are : mə~thə~terəni~cənge~məni/. Their uses and distribution is as under :

**/mð/~/ma/**: It negates the presence of a thing or action in general and can be used with all verbal forms with or without an aux, except the imperative:

/ram mð bðda/ Ram did not come : /ram bðda/ Ram came.  
 /dɔpðn hðʒðn mðbðñamik toč/  
 he should not have come here.

**/thð/ the** : It is a prohibitive negative and is used with verbal forms in the imperative mood :

/zera/ come : /thðzera/ don't come  
 /lan/ do : /thð lan/ don't do  
 /nasom ʒðn bðnnu thð bošireñ/  
 don't forget to come here tomorrow.

**/terðni~cðnge/ (free variants)** : This is an *emphatic negative* and conveys the sense of 'never' :

/gð terðni cðnge bitok/  
 I shall never go.  
 /do tðrðni zðnbðnnu mahðnc/  
 he can never come over here  
 /gð terðni dðn mðbik/  
 I shall never go there.

In dialectal variations the negative particle **/ma/** can also be used after an adverb of quantity to negate it, e.g. **/dema/** no more, lit. more no.

/doma kec/ give me no more  
 /do dema to/ he is no more.

But in standard Kinnauri this sense is conveyed by the prohibitive particle **/tha/** itself.

/doe thakeč/ don't give me any more  
 /doe tharanič/ don't give to anyone else.  
 (for other details see Negative Sub-System).

## 15.5. INTERJECTION

Interjections are function words and as such do not enter into any morphological construction. In fact, by virtue of carrying a sentence intonation these words constitute a complete utterance by themselves. In Kinnauri such a term may be a simple, derived or compound. The most common terms of this class of words may be illustrated as below :

- /hu/ exclamation, expression of surprise
- /oho/ exclamation, expression of surprise
- /akha/ an expression of pain
- /əmbə~əmma/ affirmation of a statement.
- /ya~ye/ (masc. & fem.) 'hallow', to draw attention.
- /ho ram, he bhagwan/ 'O God !
- /ram ram/ good morning.
- /chəksalo/ a Lama's reply to salutation
- /dam/ good !, well.
- /holəse/ thank you.
- /həkətthe/ its good, very well!

## XIV

### SYNTAX

Although almost all the morpho-syntactic aspects of Kinnauri have been informally dealt with while dealing with various morphological aspects of it, yet a formal analysis of them has made it necessary to present them systematically at one place. In this analysis our effort will be to point out various relevant aspects of both a phrase and a sentence, the two important units of the language.

#### 14.1. Sentence

A sentence in Kinnauri may be defined as any utterance which is self contained grammatical unit marked by sentence intonation and terminal contours in which the structural slots are the noun phrase (subject) and the verb phrase (predicate). The structure of the N.P. and the V.P. may be explained as under :

#### 14.2. Noun Phrase

The constituents of a noun phrase are a 'head' and optional



items such as modifier(s) and/or qualifier(s).

### 14.3 Types and or Qualifiers

A qualifier of a noun head can be both, a basic or a derived ; but the priority of its sequential occurrence within the phrase is of a fixed nature, though, normally, all preceding the head. The normal order is like this :  $\pm$  demonstrative/derived  $\pm$  numeral  $\pm$  qualitative(s).

/do id gaŋoč pyač/  
that one small bird.  
/boŋhoŋo den tošiš id gaŋoc pyač/  
tree of on seated one small bird  
A small bird seated on the tree.

In case of more than one qualitative qualifier, the one referring to 'colour' or 'size' is placed immediately before the noun head :

/do id goŋoc suig pyač tošiš du/  
a small red bird is seated there.

But a pronominal qualifier precedes all others, except a demonstrative :

/zu ɔŋ cog raŋ/  
This my white horse.

Intensifiers of a qualifier always preced it according to the nature of intensity.

/id šišid sɔpɔs/  
a dead snake.  
/id teg šišid sɔpɔs/  
One big dead snake.  
/id gɔzɔb teg šišid sɔpɔs/  
a very big dead snake.

### 14.4. Adjectival/Adverbial Phrase

Structures of adjectival and adverbial phrases constituting

parts of NP and VP have already been explained in sections 9.5 and 14.5 respectively.

#### 14.5. Agreement of Modifiers and Head

All modifiers in Kinnauri belong to indeclinable class of words, as such these do not show any kind of agreement with their 'head', e.g.

/id gaɬoc suig pyač/ a small red bird.

/sum gaɬoc suig pyača/ three red small birds.

/dam chañ/ good boy : /dam checac/ good girl.

#### 14.6. Verb Phrase

A verb phrase may contain a simple finite verb form with all morphological markers or a main verb plus one or more verb roots or auxiliaries.

##### (1) Simple Verb Phrase

/gð kinu ketok/ I shall give you

/do hɔʒðñ toʃit/ he lives here.

##### (2) Composite Verb Phrase

The constituents of a composite verb phrase are ; principal verb stem  $\pm$  one or more full verb stem  $\pm$  auxiliary. Syntactically, the place of an auxiliary is always at the end of the verb phrase and it is the real bearer of all the morphological categories of the verb :

/do kamðñ lanc du/

he does/is doing work.

/gð tero kimo beo duk/

I am going home today.

/do hun bemu gyagya to/

he wants to go now.

(for more examples see 11.7.1. (c), 11.7.2

In case of a composite verb phrase consisting of more than one full verb stem, all the morphological categories are carried

by the final constituents of it. The number of such constituents is, however, not more than three, including the auxiliary, if any.

/gə id dam kaməŋ lannu gyagya tok/

I wish to do a virtuous deed.

/do deʃəŋu khyam beo to/

he is going to see the village.

/do sedei zao nic du/

he always goes on eating.

(for more examples see 11.7.1-3).

#### 14.7. Extension of Verb Phrase

A verb phrase can, normally, be expanded by augmenting an adverb or an adverb phrase to it.

/lan sup̃i zores haco beo/

The wind went on increasing more and more.

/aŋu kaməŋ lano lano berəŋ bibi/

I am late because of being busy in doing work.

/gə gui ratəŋ yancis tokek/

I remained awakened for the whole night.

#### 14.8. Syntactic order of NP and VP

Kinnauri belongs to the pattern of SOV, as such the preferred order of syntactic constituents is subject  $\pm$  object + verb or NP + VP.

/chaŋ khau zač~zač du/

(the) child eats/ is eating food.

/ama chaŋu kheraŋ stuŋo təʃ/

mother makes the child drink milk.

(for more example see 7.3.1-4).

#### 14.9. Concord

As stated earlier (see 3.4) the verb in Kinnauri has no gender category. It, however, agrees with number and person (see 11.0 and 11.5.4) of the subject in subjective constructions

and with the number of the object in the objectival constructions.

In the present tense this concord is attested with respect to verb substantives only.

/gð ecci tok/ I am alone

/niña muluk nuz—wazo toc/ we are many brothers.

/ð n sum rinza tos/ I have three sisters.

In case of a finite verb there is no inflection either for the number or the person of the subject or object, it being conveyed by the number of the subject or the object itself e.g.

/boṭhañoc pathrðñ dac/

(a) leaf falls from (the) tree.

/boṭhañano pathrðña dac/

leaves fall from trees,

/dekhracis checacu khyao/

(a) boy saw (a) girl.

/checacos dekhraconu khyao/

girls saw boys.

#### 14.10. Sentence Type

Normally, a sentence in Kinnauri is a simple one, but complex ideas can be expressed by combining together more than one simple sentence or clause by means of connectors or by a pause juncture (see 14.11).

However, for a broader analysis all syntactic constructions can be classified as simple, complex and compound.

##### 14.10. (1) Simple Sentence

The essential constituent unit of a simple sentence is a clause in which a nominal phrase constitutes the subject and a verb phrase the predicate. In discourse type of sentences, however, the surface structure unit of a simple sentence can be a single word or a phrase alone. This may be illustrated as under :

/eo sonam/ well Sonam  
 /hao/ yes  
 /hām yo toñi/ where are you going ?  
 /kimo/ home~/kimo beotok/ I am going home  
 /thu ?/~what for ?  
 /bapupðñ~boapðñ kannu/ to bring father  
 /thu ?/ why ? what for ?  
 /toʈotoš/ he is ill  
 /teranč/ for how long ?  
 /i /gol hacō/ It has become one month.  
 /hod ?/ Is it so !  
 /hao/ yes.

#### 14.10. (2) Types of Simple Sentences

The following types of simple sentences can be obtained in a normal communication in Kinnauri.

#### 14.10. (3) Copula Sentences

The copulative sense is expressed by verbs *to*-and *du*- 'to be, to have' which are used as auxiliaries as well. These may take any of the following as predicate complement.

- (a) a noun phrase :  
 /zo ðñ kim to/ this is my house.  
 /du thðd namðñ du/ what is his name.  
 /ðñ šum ringza tos/ I have three sisters.
- (b) an adjectival phrase :  
 /kui kəttði/ rək to/ the dog is very black.  
 /chacec mothðs to/ the girl is fat.
- (c) an adverbial phrase :  
 /pyač boṭhaño den du/ a bird is on the tree.  
 (for more examples see 14.5.)

#### 14.10. (4) Intransitive Sentences

Kinnauri makes a structural distinction between transitive and intransitive sentences. According to which the subject in a transitive sentence is placed in the Ergative case, if the verb denotes an action in the past, but it is placed in the

nominative case, if the verb is an intransitive one (for details see 7.3.4 ff.)

#### 14.10. (5) Transitive Sentences

Transitive sentences are those which take one or more (direct and indirect) objects.

/chañ khəu zac du/ (the) child eats food

/amas aṇu chaṇu bhikharipəñ ranə/

(the) mother gave her son to a begger (double object).

On the basis of the case form taken by the subject of a transitive verb, the transitive sentences can further be classified as past and non-past, and also with a single object and with double objects, as illustrated in the above examples.

It may be noted that Kinnauri rarely attests the distinction of subjectival and objectival in transitive sentences as is attested in Indo-Aryan dialects on the basis of the agreement of the verb with the subject or object. In it, in most of the cases, the verb remains unaffected (see concord above).

#### 14.10. (6) Causative Sentences

Causative sentences can be constructed by causativising transitive verb roots by adding formative suffixes or verbal roots. In it, however, no double causativisation like in many Indo-Aryan language is possible.

In fact, basically, Kinnauri does not favour causative sentences. The causative sense is expressed by distinctive verb-roots, e.g. a sentence like 'he makes the child to work' is expressed as 'he takes the work from the child'. This may be illustrated by the following expression.

/do chaṇu dwakə kaməñ unc/ du/

If at all necessary then the verb root, *sen*-to send, to cause, etc. is employed to make the sense a causative.

/dos chaṇa dokə kaməñ lanšedodu/

work is got done by him from the child.

/do tošim šeto/ he will make him sit.

(for details see 11.9—)

## 14.10. (7) Passive/Impersonal Sentences

In Kinnauri there being no prefixo-suffixal mechanism of passivisation. All passive/impersonal expressions are expressed, more or less, like active ones. Moreover, the so called agreement with the object also is not there, as we find in many Indo-Aryan languages.

/čh dokč tošim mahanim bəddo/

sitting cannot become from me

=sitting is not possible by me.

/kin dokč Yunim mahani/

walking cannot be done by you.

The passive sentences are formed by adding forms of the aux. verb *hanmig* 'can', 'is able to', to the verbal noun form of the main verb. (for details see 11.8).

## 14.10. (8) Interrogative Sentences

Interrogative sentences are attested in two types, (i) those which may elicit a 'yes' or 'no' type of responses, and (ii) those which are not answered in the above way, but give the full information sought for, viz. in the form of a noun phrase, an adjective phrase or an adverb phrase etc. For the first type of sentences, the interrogative sense is expressed by interrogative intonation accompanying the sentence intonation or by an interrogation marker suffixed to the given verb form; but in the second type it is expressed by one of the terms of interrogative pronoun or adverb. (for examples see 8.6).

## 14.10. (9) Imperative Sentences

On the basis of the degree of command imperative sentences may have the following structures.

(a) *jussive* : It express a mild or polite form of command. In this both the pronoun and the verb are in the *honogfic form* :

/zo kaməñ hasəl lan lan señ/

(please) finish this work quickly.

/hasəl həzəh bəbə tošiñ/  
 (please) sit down after having come here.  
 (also see 12.1 iv).

(b) *Command* : It expresses a greater force of command, and the subject is usually placed in the non-honorific form or can optionally be deleted. cf.

/bio duen/ go (command) (non-honorific)  
 /bio dueñ/ go (request or polite command) (hon.)  
 /zera/ come (command) (non-hon.)  
 /jeñ/ come (polite command) (hon.)  
 (for details see 12.1).

(c) *Suggestive* : It can be of a suggestive nature as well, expressing neither force nor involvement.

/k/ idəh zərrur bimig toč/  
 you (hon.) must (ought to) have gone there.  
 /dopəh həzen mabəh gyamig toč/  
 he should (ought) not have come here.  
 (Also see 8.13.11).

(d) *Negative Imperative (prohibitive)* : In Kinnauri the negative prohibitive marker is *thə* which precedes the verb form :

/nasom zəh bənnu thə poširi/  
 don't forget to come here tomorrow.

#### 14 10(10) Negative Sentences

The negative marker in Kinnauri is *ma* which structurally precedes the verb form :

/kia yunim mahani/ you cannot walk.  
 /gə dopəh lonnu mašek/ I shall not allow him to speak.  
 (for more examples see 11.11).



**14.10(11) Emphatic Negative**

The use of the emphatic particle *terañi* 'ever' with the negative particle *ma* makes it an emphatic negative, i.e. 'never'.

/gð terañi dðñ ma beok/

I shall never come here.

(for details see 11.11).

**14.10(12) Transformation into Interrogative and Negative Sentences**

All affirmative sentences can be transformed into Interrogative and Negative sentences by the use of negative particle *ma* and interrogative markers /a ?/, suffixed to the verb form.

/do khðñ zač/ he takes meals

/do khðu ma zač/ he does not take meals

/do keto/ he will give.

/do ketowa ?/ will he give.

(for more examples see 11.11 and 11.12).

**14.11. Complex Sentences**

Complex sentences are constructed with more than one clause, of which one is the main clause and other are subordinate or dependent clauses. Usually, the latter precedes the former. Moreover, in this structure the main clause may or may not have other phrases, but the subordinate clause is analysable in terms of an incomplete verb phrase with or without other phrases. The following four types of complex sentences are attested in Kinnauri.

14.11(i) *Conditional* : In a conditional sentence the place of the conditional marker, if expressed, is in the initial position of the subordinate clause, but in Kinnauri it is usually left out.

/ki bðnna, añu le bðnnu poč/

(if) you come, I shall also have to come.

14.11(ii) *Complemental* : Certain verbs in the main clause need a complement clause, with or without a linking element.

/doš riŋa + gə upasəŋ tok/

he said (that) I am hungry.

/gə esa terannu nec/ duk/ I know well, how to swim.

14.11(iii) *Relative* : In a complex structure both the clauses may be linked or introduced by a relative pronoun, one functioning as a qualifier to the other :

/hatyaŋ bəto hədoi bitə/

whosoever comes, he will go.

/chədiā unciŋ ketə/

whatever (you) ask for (I) shall give.

(Also see 4.8).

14.11(iv) *Incomplete Verb Phrase* : The structure of a complex sentence with an incomplete verb phrase may be illustrated as under :

/paθu gudoc dadoši sugro sugro/ həcis/

the pitcher went into pieces as soon as it fell from the hand.

/hə zəŋ bəbə tošiŋ/

having come here take, your seat (sit).

## 14.12. COMPOUND SENTENCES

A compound sentence consists of two or more main clauses which are either juxtaposed or joined by a conjunction (see 15.1), or separated by a pause juncture. As such in a compound sentence no clause is subordinate to other, both being independent clauses, e.g.

/do kec + gə tuŋč/ he gives, (and) I drink.

/do lano beo + niŋa zao beoc/

he went on cooking, we went on eating.

/əŋ kaməŋ həcis, (pər) kin kaməŋ aile mahəcis/

my work has been done, (but) your work has not been done.

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## INDEX

- Ablative, 9, 75, 76, 77, 84
- Accusative-dative, 9, 74, 76, 77, 78, 80-83, 165
- Adjective, 49, 64 (pron), 171
- Adjectival derivative, 171
- Adjective phrase, 111, 114, 188, 194
- Adjunct, 174
- Adverbial derivatives, 172
- Adverb phrase, 179, 187, 190
- Adverb of quantity, 176
- Agentive, 127
- Agreement, 187
- Aggregative, 108, 123
- Approximative, 124
- Aspect, 131, 147
- Aspiration, 33
- Assimilation, 53, 171
- Associative, 9, 74, 77, 86
- Animate, 56, 58, 59 (object)
- Austro-Asiatic, 57
- Automatic glidization, 52
- Casal relationship, 82
- Causative, 84, 128, 130, 150, 193
- Chitkuli, 6, 7
- Clusters (cons), 34-40
- Compound, 48, 50, 60, 62, 162, 129, 197 (sentences)
- Complemental (sentence), 197
- Compulsive mood, 161
- Concord, 50
- Conditional, 160, 196, 182 (particle)
- Conjunct particle, 139, 141, 167, 168
- Conjunction, 62 (coordinative)
- Connective particle, 181
- Connector, 160
- Contingent, 160
- Continuous, 10, 138, 140 (past) 146 (future)
- Dative, acc., 9, 74, 76, 77, 78, 80, 83, 165
- De-aspiration, 33, 53
- Declinable, 140
- Definite (pron.), 101
- Demonstrative, 47, 86, 99, 100, 108, 109, 116, 129, 187
- Direct (case), 74, 76, 77, 92, 97, 127



- Direct (object), 83  
 Devoicing, 33, 52  
 Durative, 11  
  
 Echo-words, 62  
 Elision, 53  
 Emphatic particle, 107  
 Ergative, 74, 76, 77, 81-83, 97,  
     127, 192  
 Euphonic vowels, 54, 183 (particle)  
 Exclusive, 14, 66, 67, 77, 79, 100  
  
 Formative suffixes, 108, 140, 148  
 Fractional (Numeral), 124  
 Future, 11, 144, 152, 159, 162-63  
 Future Continuous, 146  
  
 Gemination, 40  
 Genitive (case), 9, 75-77, 84-87,  
     90, 103  
 Gerund, 165  
 Gerundial (base), 161-164  
 Glides, 24  
 Glottalization, 43  
 Government, 90  
 Grammatical categories, 50, 161,  
     164  
  
 Habitual aspect, 147  
 Hindi, 32  
  
 Imperative, 11, 156, 160, 194, 195  
 Imperfect, 10, 159  
 Inanimate, 56, 58, 59 (object)  
 Inceptive (aspect), 147  
 Inclusive, 14, 66, 67, 77, 97, 100  
 Indeclinables, 8, 140  
 Indefinitive, 10 (present) 136, 138  
     (past), 147 (habitual)  
 Indefinite (Num.), 123  
 Indirect object, 83  
 Indo-Aryan, 6, 11 (old), 13, 32, 57,  
     58, 66, 108, 112 (Mod.), 127, 138,  
     158 (Mod.), 193  
 Infinitive, 10, 126, 164  
 Infix, 47, 50  
 Intensifier, 113, 114  
  
 Interjection, 186  
 Interrogative, 101-103, 109, 110,  
     154-55, 194, 196, 184 (past)  
 Intonation, 46  
 Instrumental, 74, 77, 83  
 Intransitive, 78, 127, 128, 192-93  
  
 Juncture, 43-44, 191 (pause)  
 Jussive, 194  
  
 Kāraka, 73  
  
 Length, 42  
 Locative, 9, 75, 77, 88  
  
 Modifiers, 47, 49, 167, 169, 110,  
     114, 116, 134, 172, 189  
 Morphophonemic Adjustment, 51,  
     54  
 Morpho-phonemic Alternation, 51,  
     55  
 Multiplicative (Num.), 123  
 Munda, 69, 117  
  
 Nasality, 43  
 Negative particle, 54, 107, 130,  
     153, 184  
 Negative system, 152, 195-96  
 Nominal derivatives, 172  
 Nominative, 127  
 Non-Causative, 130  
 Non-personal (pron.), 97, 110  
 Non-progressive, 136, 137  
 Non-variable, 49, 105, 109, 164  
 Non-finite, 164  
 Noun of action, 60  
 Noun of agency, 60  
 Noun phrase, 172, 187, 194  
 Numeral system, 54  
 Nyamskad, 6  
  
 Object, 82  
 Object infixation, 139, 141, 146  
 Objectival construction, 181  
 Observed past, 140  
 Optative, 159

- Ordinals, 122
- Participles, 166, 107, 148, 162, 163, 167, 169
- Particles, 47, 181 (connective), 182 (conditional)
- Passive participle, 167
- Passive past, 11, 84, 128
- Past continuous, 140
- Pause (juncture), 191
- Perfect participle, 163, 169
- Periphrastic (pres.) 138, 140, 155, 158 (imp.), 159
- Permissive, 159
- Personal pron., 49, 97, 101, 103
- Possessive (case), 9, 109, 112
- Possessive (pron.), 115
- Present participle, 107, 148, 162, 166
- Progressive (aspect), 136
- Prohibitive, 156, 158, 185, 195
- Pronominal (Adj.), 109, 115
- Pronoun, 7, 14, 49
- Proximate, 98, 100
- Qualifier (pron.), 188
- Qualitative, 109, 187
- Quantitative, 109
- Quantity, 42, 175 (Adv.)
- Reduplication, 62, 63, 101, 168, 178
- Reflexive (pron.), 103-04
- Relative, 101 (pron.), 197 (sentence)
- Replative (imp.), 158
- Reported (past), 140
- Semi-vowels, 24
- Specifier, 102
- Stress-pitch, 45
- Subject, 9, 82, 87
- Subjunctive, 160
- Substantive, 47
- Suggestive (imp.), 159
- Suppletivism, 54, 67
- Suprasegmental, 42
- Syllable, 40-42, 108
- Thebarskad, 6
- Tibetan, 128, 152
- Tibeto-Burman, 11, 13, 57
- Tibeto-Himalayan, 34, 69, 130
- Transitive, 78, 127-28, 192-93
- Transitivization, 128
- Variable, 49, 50, 105, 109
- Verbal derivatives, 171
- Verbal modifiers, 174
- Verbal noun, 10, 126, 165
- Verb phrase, 114, 170, 189, 190, 197 (incomplete).
- Verb substantive, 10, 78, 161-62
- Vibhakti, 73
- Vigesimal, 117, 121
- Vocative, 75, 89
- Voicing, 52
- Vowel sequences, 23 ff.
- Word-classes, 49
- Zhang-Zhung, 13

26887